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THE PAÑCATANTRA IN MODERN INDIAN FOLKLORE

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I. THE RELATION OF MODERN INDIAN FOLK-TALES TO LITERATURE

Brief Survey of published Indian Folk-tales¹

IN 1868 Miss Frere published her book *Old Deccan Days*. This was the first collection of stories orally current among the people of India ever presented to the Occident.² Three years later Mr. Thomas Steele included in the appendix to his metrical rendition of *The Kusa Jātakaya* fourteen short household tales from Ceylon. That same year Mr. G. H. Damant began to publish folk stories of Bengal in the *Indian Antiquary*, and continued to do so until 1880. Meanwhile others occasionally reported oral tales in that periodical and in books dealing with the customs and manners, or history, of particular districts of India. The next book offered to the Western public, devoted exclusively to Indian folk stories, was Miss Stokes's *Indian Fairy Tales*, privately printed in 1879. In 1883 Mr. L. B. Day's *Folk-Tales of Bengal* appeared; and the next year Captain (now Lieutenant-Colonel) Temple issued the first volume of his three-volume work, *Legends of the Panjab*. The following year he and Mrs. F. A. Steel sent out *Wide-awake Stories*, most of the tales in which had previously been published in the *Indian Antiquary*. This book was epoch-making in the study of Hindu

¹ In this essay I use the terms 'folk-tale' and 'folk story' as synonymous with 'oral' tale or story, that is, one reported orally from the folk, and contrasted with 'literary' tale or story, that is, one existing in a professed work of literature. This distinction, of course, deals not with the substance of the story but with the sort of fiction, whether oral or literary, in which the story appears. This limitation is perhaps arbitrary on my part, but it is at least convenient and is often matched in practice by others dealing with oral stories.

² A few Indian oral tales had been published before this time in books of travel or description, for example in Mr. T. Bacon's *Oriental Annual* (1840), and Mrs. Postans' *Cutch* (1838). See my bibliography.

folk-tales, for in addition to a number of good stories it contained a classified list of most of the incidents found in a large part of the previously published tales. Since then the publication of Indian oral stories has been extensive and continuous to the present time. In 1914 there appeared the last volume of Mr. H. Parker's three-volume collection of *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon*, the most important work yet published in this field, containing 266 stories and indicating parallels to many of those from other collections both oral and literary.

We have now in printed form accessible to Occidental readers, in round numbers, 3000 stories from Ināia and the adjacent countries of Ceylon, Tibet, Burma, and the Malay Peninsula. These run the gamut of folk-tale types, including myths, place and hero legends, fables, drolls, *Märchen* of all sorts, cumulative stories,³ and ballads. Altho the folk story material is not nearly exhausted, the number of tales reported is sufficiently large and representative to afford a working basis for the study of Indian folklore. Each new collection of tales that is published contains only a small amount of new material; the greater part repeats stories or motifs that have been previously reported.

Of these 3000 stories not all are oral tales. By a loose interpretation of the word, Indian 'folklore' has been made to include some tales translated directly from literary texts. Those who have so offended are for the most part natives of the country. Pandit S. M. Natesa Sastri, for example, offers forty-five stories in his collection. One of these, which appears as No. 13 in *Tales of the Sun*, is in reality no oral tale but a translation of the Alakesakathā, a sixteenth century Tamil romance published by him in two other places as a piece of literature.⁴ Other of his tales are evidently literary, as for instance No. 3, 'The Sooth-sayer's Son.' How many more are of this character I cannot say. The same remark applies to some of the stories found in Mr. G. R. Subramiah Pantalu's *Folklore of the Telugus*, of which, for instance, No. 41 is a translation of the entire first book of the Hitopadeśa in some Telugu version. There is also a suspicious ring to many of Mr. Ramaswami Raju's *Indian Fables*,

³ Such as the story of Henny Penny or the Old Woman at the Stile.

⁴ *The King and his Four Ministers*, Madras, 1888; and W. A. Clouston, *A Group of Eastern Romances*, Glasgow, 1889, p. 193 ff.

some of which seem to be taken directly from literature, or if oral to have been 'doctored' by the compiler. The only European, so far as I know, who has done this is the Rev. A. Wood. As the second part of his *In and Out of Chanda* he publishes five stories which are called 'a valuable contribution to our knowledge of Indian folklore.' Four of these are probably translations from some Hindustani version of the Tutina-meh; they are at least good paraphrases of the Persian. The other is a translation of the Vetālapañcaviṃśati story of Śaṅka-cūḍa and Jīmūtavāhana, taken, apparently, from a modern vernacular version. The remainder of the 3000 tales, however, are nearly all genuinely oral.

As is natural, some localities of India have been more thoroly explored by the story collectors than others. Ceylon leads at present in the number of tales reported, having about 310, thanks chiefly to the 263 stories contained in Mr. Parker's three-volume work mentioned above.⁵ The Santal Parganas are second with about 230, of which Mr. C. H. Bompas's *Folklore of the Santal Parganas* contains 185. The Panjab is third, being represented by approximately 200.

These stories are of interest from several points of view. To the general public they offer a large amount of entertaining reading, altho strict justice compels me to admit that on the whole they hardly equal Hindu literary stories when judged by the standards of fiction. Students of folk customs and practises and popular religion have often professed a deep interest in these oral tales, claiming that they throw light on ancient habits and beliefs. This opinion, I fear, is not too well justified. The customs and superstitions portrayed in them are as a rule either those existing at present or else pure myth,⁶ with the exception

⁵ His work contains 266 stories, of which three are from South India.

⁶ There is nothing more common in Hindu folk-tales than the election of a king, when the throne is vacant, by either some or all of the Pañcadivyaṇi (five divinely guided instruments, state elephant, etc.; see Edgerton, *JAOS* 33. 158 ff.). And yet this was certainly never a Hindu custom in historical times, nor, I think we may safely say, in times prehistorical. Nor were Hindu kings ever more likely than those of other countries to show the generosity so often pictured in fairy tales, both oral and literary, of dividing their kingdoms with benefactors. These and many other incidents of constant occurrence in fiction are of purely imaginary existence as far as concerns real life.

of those scattered instances where a literary story borrowed by the folk is still so fresh in the popular memory as to preserve incidents of the times past when that story received its literary form.⁷ It can be said with truth, however, that there are many customs and beliefs of the folk appearing in the oral fiction that occur only rarely, if at all, in the literature.⁸

Borrowing by folklore from literature

But while these oral tales are worthy of study as a separate department of fiction, they are of more particular interest to us here on account of the relation they bear to Hindu literature. Folklorists would often give us to understand that oral and literary fictions have separate traditions after a story has once been received into literature from the folklore; that is, that oral tales have had an independent and continuous existence from the time of their birth in the distant past. They do, of course, make some exceptions to this rule in a few isolated cases where the reverse is so obvious as to be undeniable. Now, whether or not this opinion is justified in other countries, it is not substantiated in India. It is doubtless true that in the remote past many stories had their origin among the illiterate folk, often in pre-literary times, and were later taken into literature. It is also just as true that many stories that appear in literature existed there first and are not indebted to the folklore for their origin. But leaving aside questions concerning the early history of Hindu stories and dealing strictly with *modern* Indian fiction, we find that folklore has frequently taken its material from literature. This process has been so extensive that of the 3000 tales so far reported, all of which have been collected during the past fifty years, at least half can be shown to be derived from literary sources. This statement means that in the highly literary, altho illiterate, land of India oral tradition has in some

⁷ A good illustration of this phenomenon is found in Parker, *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon*, 1. 33, 348, where there is reference to *kahāpana*, a coin that has not been used in Ceylon since the eleventh century A. D.

⁸ For example, the 'life index' or 'separable soul,' a concept common to untutored people of many parts of the world, which in India appears in the folk-tales times without number, but in the classic fiction only rarely. (I myself have observed it there only five times, and some of those instances are doubtful.)

cases become gradually poorer until it has died, and has later been reborn from literature. In other cases stories have in all likelihood been carried by literary means to places where they did not exist previously, and have thus been implanted in the folklore. Let me illustrate this sort of borrowing by a few examples.

The first tale in Mr. Alexander Campbell's *Santal Folk Tales* is entitled 'The Magic Lamp.' Briefly it is as follows. In the capital of a certain Rāja lived a poor widow with an only son. One day a merchant came to her home from a far country, claiming to be her brother-in-law. After staying with her a few days, he left, taking the son with him to look for golden flowers. They travelled a long weary journey. When they arrived at a certain hill the merchant heaped up a large quantity of firewood, and commanded the boy to blow on it. Altho he had no fire, by continued blowing the boy ignited the wood. When the fire was burnt out, a trapdoor appeared beneath the ashes. This the boy was compelled by his uncle to lift. Under it a lamp was burning, and beside the lamp lay a great number of golden flowers.

The merchant took the flowers and went away, but left the boy in the vault. When about to perish with hunger, the boy absent-mindedly rubbed the lamp with his ring. Immediately a fairy appeared, who released him from his prison. On arriving home he found no food in the house. He started to polish the lamp to sell it so that he might get money with which to purchase rice, when suddenly the fairy appeared again, and at his request brot him food. Having now learned the secret of the lamp, he obtained by means of it horses, much wealth, and finally the Rāja's daughter as his wife, providing for her a magnificent palace. One day while the newly-made prince was out hunting, the merchant came to the palace with new lamps to exchange for old. The princess gave him the magic lamp for a new one. The merchant rubbed the lamp, the fairy appeared, and the merchant commanded that the palace and the princess be moved to his own country. When this loss was discovered, the king was enraged, and commanded his son-in-law to restore the princess by the fourteenth day or suffer the punishment of death. On the thirteenth day the young man had found no trace of his wife. In despair he lay down to sleep, resigning

himself to his fate, when he accidentally rubbed his finger ring. A fairy appeared, and at his request transported him to his lost palace. Assuming the form of a dog, he entered it, and was recognized by his wife; and the two laid plans to recover the lamp, which the merchant wore suspended around his neck. At supper the princess killed him by giving him poisoned rice to eat. The two then took the lamp, rubbed it, and had themselves and the palace carried back to the city of the princess's father. When the morning of the fourteenth day dawned, the Rāja saw the palace in its original place, found his daughter again, was delighted, and divided the kingdom with his son-in-law.

I need scarcely point out that this is the story of 'Aladdin and the Wonderful Lamp,' given almost exactly in the form familiar to all of us from childhood, with the exception of the omission of a few incidents and some changes in minor details. There can be no doubt, either, that this is a genuine folk story, genuine, that is, in the sense that it was taken directly from the lips of an untutored Santālī, for Mr. Campbell assures us by definite statement that it was. On the other hand we know that this story has not appeared elsewhere in Indian folklore, that the story itself is not Indic, that even many of the incidents in it, such as the coming of the fairy when the lamp is rubbed, are not Indic. The occurrence of it cannot possibly be due to original existence among the Santālīs. It is the familiar tale told to some of those people by a foreigner, and retold by them with modifications due to their own habits and mental paraphernalia, until it came to Mr. Campbell similar in outward appearance to the rest of the stories that he collected.

How folklore borrows from literature is shown more clearly perhaps by this illustration than by any other we have, not because the borrowing is more certain, but because the non-Indic character of the literary story makes its borrowing more easily seen. Just as surely borrowed, altho a little less evidently so, because the story is Hindu, is a fable found on pages 33 and 200 of Rouse's *Talking Thrush*, a retelling of fables collected by W. Crooke in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. The story was told by a brassfounder. It is entitled 'The Camel's Neck.' A camel practises austerities. Bhagwān is pleased and shows himself to him. 'Who are you?' asks the camel. 'I am the Lord of the Three Regions,' answers the god. 'Show me

your proper form,' says the camel. Then Bhagwān appears in his fourhanded form (*Caturbhujī*), and the camel worships him. Bhagwān tells him to ask a boon. 'Let my neck be a *yojan* long,' the camels requests. With such a neck the lazy beast can now graze without moving his body. One day it rains. He puts his head and neck in a cave to get out of the wet. A pair of jackals also enter the cave, see the attractive flesh of the *yojan*-long neck, and begin to eat it. The camel curls his head around to see what is annoying him, but before he can get it back to the jackals, they have eaten enough to kill him.

At first sight, this fable might appear to be a pure creation of the folk mind. As a matter of fact it is nothing of the sort. In the *Mahābhārata*, Parva 12. 112. this story is given as follows—just as in *The Talking Thrush*, with only a few minor variations. In the Krita age there lived a camel who had recollection of all the acts of his former life. By observing vows and practising penances he obtained favor with the puissant Brahman, so that the god determined to grant him a boon. 'Let my neck become long,' asked the camel, 'so that I may seize food even at the distance of a hundred *yojans*.' 'Let it be so,' said the god. The foolish animal became lazy, and from that day on never went out grazing. One day while his neck was extended a hundred *yojans*, a great storm arose. The camel placed his head and a portion of his neck inside a cave to escape the storm. A pair of jackals also dragged themselves to that very cave and entered it for shelter. The jackals began to eat the neck. The camel, when he perceived that his neck was being eaten, strove to shorten it; but as he moved it up and down the jackals, without losing their hold upon it, continued to eat away. Within a short time the camel died. Then says the text:

*evam durbuddhinā prāptam ustreṇa nidhanam tadā
ālasyasya kramāt paśya mahāntam doṣam āgatam.*

(Mbh. Calcutta ed. 12. 112. 4189.)

'Thus did that foolish camel meet with his death then. Behold, what a great evil followed in the train of idleness.' Compare with this the verse of the Hindustānī oral tale:

*Ālas dokh mahān dekhyo phal kaisā bhayā;
Yāten ūnt ajān maran lagyo nij karm se.*

Idleness is a great fault: behold, what its fruit was;
By it the foolish camel met with death, owing to his
own deeds.

The close agreement of these two versions, even down to the vernacular verse, which is evidently a paraphrase of the Sanskrit and even represents a number of Sanskrit words by their etymological equivalents, shows that the oral fable is nothing more than the old story of the Mahābhārata retold by the folk.

All the literatures of India—Sanskrit, Prākṛit, Pāli, and vernacular—serve as sources from which the folklore may borrow; and also the literatures of neighboring countries, especially Persia. I give here an illustration from the Pāli. In Parker's *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon*, 3. 223, there occurs a story called 'The Son and the Mother,' belonging to the familiar 'Biter Bit' group. It is in summary as follows. A widow marries her son to the daughter of another widow, and all four live in the same house. The wife cultivates an extreme dislike for her mother-in-law, and proposes to her husband that they kill her. After long urging, she finally persuades him, and they plan to throw the old lady into the river. Now the two mothers sleep in the same room. At night, therefore, when they have retired to bed, the wife ties a string to the prospective victim's cot so that she and her husband may be sure to get the right old woman. The husband, however, secretly changes the string to the other bed. Of course, then, they throw the wife's mother into the river to the crocodiles. The next morning the wife discovers the mistake, but persists in her determination to destroy her mother-in-law. This time the plan is to burn her as a corpse. When night comes, they carry her to a pile of firewood they have collected by the side of an open grave. They have forgotten, however, to bring fire; and, since each is afraid to return home alone for it in the dark, they both go. About this time the widow awakes and sees the plot that has been laid for her. She quickly gets up, puts a real corpse on the pyre, and hides. When the couple return, they burn the corpse, and leave, satisfied now that the mother will never trouble them again. She, however, wanders about naked until she comes to a robbers' cave. These take her for a Yaksanī (ogress), and flee. They ask a Yakadurā (devil-doctor) to drive her from their cave.

When the Yakadurā comes, she assures him that she is a human being, and offers to prove the truth of her statement by rubbing tongues with him (Yaksanīs have no tongues, so the story says). He extends his tongue, but she bites it off; and he, convinced that she is too powerful a Yaksanī for him to contend with, runs away. Then the widow takes a large part of the robbers' goods, and returns to her son's home. To the surprised inquiries of the young people as to how she could return after being burnt, she replies that people burnt to death always receive goods in the next world, and that she has returned to share hers with them. The daughter-in-law now becomes greedy for heavenly wealth, too, and asks to be burnt. Her request is granted, but she, of course, never comes back. The mother and son live in ease on the goods taken from the robbers' cave, and at a later time the son marries another wife.

This story is nothing more than a verbal paraphrase of a story in Jātaka 432. Every incident as related above occurs in the Pāli, and the order of incidents is the same in both. The points in which the two differ are so slight that they would not appear in a summary. There is no need to relate the Jātaka tale, for it would agree exactly with the oral tale. It is evident that this longish and neat folk story is taken either directly from the Pāli or from the Sinhalese version of the Jātaka book.

In particular localities a single collection of stories or a romance may exercise an especially strong influence over the folklore, as in the Gilgit region of Kashmir, where a number of tales from the Alexander saga have been found orally current.⁹ Other instances of borrowing could be adduced in profusion, but those given are sufficient to illustrate the phenomenon.¹⁰

The means by which the literary tales are carried into the folklore are many and varied. It is a well-known fact, for instance, that professional reciters of the epics penetrate to all

⁹ See Houghton, *Sport and Folklore in the Himalayas*, pp. 96-103, 205.

¹⁰ Frequently it is not the entire folk-tale that is borrowed, but only incidents or motifs. These might be termed story units, which any raconteur may combine at his pleasure in a story, thereby often creating a story that is original as far as concerns the whole, but secondary as concerns the 'units.' See Bloomfield, *JAOS* 36. 57, and Temple, in Steel and Temple, *Wide-awake Stories*, p. 386.

parts of India, often making extended visits in single villages and giving lengthy recitations every evening. Further, learned men and priests who can read literary stories delight to repeat the tales to less cultured folk. In some sections of India there are professional story-tellers who retail their wares for a price. Travelling merchants and wandering *sādhus* are other agents for the spread of stories; and even Europeans have had a share in the work, sometimes thru religious propaganda, and sometimes thru the intercourse between their children and ayahs. These are the most obvious means, but there are doubtless others.

As is to be expected, various literatures have exerted especially strong influences over various parts of India. Sanskrit has been the most influential, if for no other reason than that it is the recognized literary vehicle *par excellence* of the larger part of India. In many cases it acts thru the medium of vernacular literatures, which are always potent in their native localities.¹¹ Jainistic Sanskrit is remarkably well represented in the collections from Western and Central India. In Southern India the vast Tamil literature dominates the folklore. Pāli has considerable influence in the regions where Hinayāna Buddhism is the prevailing religion—Ceylon, Burma, and Siam—probably thru the spoken languages of those regions, into which many of the sacred books have been translated. It also shows its traces in Southern India, where it acts thru Tamil. Over all North-western and Northern India Persian literature has operated largely, and its force is felt as far east as Bengal and as far south as the Telugu country, altho with ever decreasing strength in ratio to the distance from Persia. In the Malay peninsula there is Arabic influence, originating in the Mohammedan sections there. The meager collections we have from Tibet strangely enough owe little to the sacred books of Mahāyāna Buddhism, but are indebted mostly to native Indian and Persian literatures. The reason for this may lie in the fact that most of the reported tales come from the section of Tibet thru which

¹¹ In dealing with vernacular literary stories that are related to folk stories care must be taken to determine which is the parent. An instance where a late literary collection has taken a tale from the folklore is found in the Tamil-Malay *Pandja Tandaram* 1. 5 (see Hertel, *Das Pañcatantra*, pp. 295 and 299). This story from a Malay folk version of the Lion and the Hare has been borrowed by the compiler of that text.

runs the trade route from India to Lhasa. Christian religious literature has given much to the folklore of the Salsette and the Malabar coast.

The folk-tales that are independent of literature seem to be of fairly well defined types. All cumulative stories, most cosmological myths, the majority of place, but not hero, legends, many fairy stories¹² and *Märchen*, and a large number of drolls, seem original among the folk. This statement, however, is not to be considered final, for with the increase of my opportunities to become acquainted with the large field of Hindu literature and that of adjacent countries, I find it ever more difficult to decide just what kinds of stories are independent.

The extent to which folklore as a whole has borrowed from literature is another question to which only a provisional answer can be given. After a study of the subject for several years, my present estimate is that somewhat over a half of the oral fiction can be shown to be thus secondary.¹³ But a complete perusal of all the literatures that have had access to India, if this were possible, would doubtless show the proportion to be much higher.

II. PAÑCATANTRA STORIES REPRESENTED IN HINDU FOLKLORE

At the close of the preceding section I made the statement that over a half of the stories contained in the published collections of Hindu oral tales can be shown to be derived from literary sources. To illustrate this point I am making an extensive investigation of the folk-tales, comparing them with parallel stories in the literature of India and those of other countries that have had an opportunity to influence Indian popular lore, and endeavoring to determine just what is the status of each folk-tale that thus comes under consideration. From time to time I hope to publish my results.

As a starting point for my investigations I have chosen to examine those oral stories that parallel the fables found in the older Indian versions of the Pañcatantra, that is to say, the

¹² This remark applies to fairy stories in their complete form, not to the separate elements of which they are a combination.

¹³ This fact seems all the more remarkable when we recall that folk-tale collectors are often encouraged to reject stories which are obviously borrowed. See, for example, W. Crooke in the *Indian Antiquary* 22, p. 196.

Tantrākhyāyika, the versions contained in Somadeva's Kathāsaritsāgara and Kṣemendra's Brhatkathāmañjarī, the Southern Pañcatantra, Textus Simplicior, Pūrṇabhadrā's Pañcākhyānaka, and the Hitopadeśa.¹⁴ The majority of these Pañcatantra stories have numerous literary parallels, and I have used all of these that I know and have been able to see.

The folk-tales surveyed by me in pursuing this investigation are those referred to in my bibliography at the end of this paper. Unfortunately, as I indicate there, some of the books have not been accessible to me, but their number is not large and the consequent omissions will not be many. The most important works that I have not seen are Thornhill, *Indian Fairy Tales; The Orientalist*, vols. 3 and 4, and *North Indian Notes and Queries*. These and the other unexplored titles contain, I should guess, about 200 stories, not a very large fraction of the 3000 that have been published. One other book, Mackenzie's *Indian Fairy Tales*, is so unscientifically compiled that I have not been able to use it.¹⁵

Altho I have treated the oral tales that duplicate stories in the entire five books of the Pañcatantra, the exigencies of space are such that at present only the part dealing with the first book can be published. At a later time I hope to present the remainder.¹⁶

There are discussed in this paper 45 oral stories, of which 31 are traced to literary sources, 8 show themselves to be derived from literary sources which, however, have not yet come to my hand; and 6 appear to be independent. Three other stories are treated which appear in folk collections, but are themselves literary.

There is added here a table showing in summary the places where the folk-tales treated are published, the stories from the Pañcatantra cycle to which they are parallel, and the status of each story—whether borrowed or original.

¹⁴ For a bibliography of these and the later versions of the Pañcatantra, and their literary history, see Hertel, *Das Pañcatantra*, Leipzig, 1914, and Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes ou relatifs aux Arabes publiés dans l'Europe chrétienne de 1810 à 1885*, vol. 2.

¹⁵ See my remark on this book in the bibliography.

¹⁶ The dissertation offered for my doctor's degree included the treatment of all stories duplicated in the entire Pañcatantra and Hitopadeśa.

<i>Folk-tale</i>	<i>Pañcatantra parallel</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Where treated</i>
Bompas, <i>Folklore of the Santal Par-ganas</i> , p. 293 p. 304	Grateful Animals, Ungrateful Man (Pūrṇabhadra I. 9) Unchaste Weaver's Wife (Tantrākhyāyika I. 3e, etc.)	Original Hitopadeśa II. 5b	III. 7 III. 3
Butterworth, <i>Zigzag Journeys in India</i> , p. 16	Lion and Hare (Tantrākhyāyika I. 6, etc.)	Textus Simplicior I. 8 or Pūr-nabhadrā I. 7	III. 6
Damant, <i>Bengali Folklore, Indian Antiquary</i> I, p. 118	Grateful Animals, Ungrateful Man (Pūr-nabhadrā I. 9)	Original	III. 7
Dames, <i>Balochi Tales, Folk-lore</i> 3, p. 517	Lion and Hare (Tantrākhyāyika I. 6, etc.)	Textus Simplicior I. 8 or Pūr-nabhadrā I. 7	III. 6
Dracott, <i>Simla Village Tales</i> , p. 2	Ape and Officious Bird (Textus Simplicior I. 18; IV. 11)	Any Pañcatantra version	III. 14
p. 198	Blue Jackal (Tantrākhyāyika I. 8, etc.)	Kadiri's Tutinamuch XVII	III. 9
Fleeson, <i>Laos Folklore of Further India</i> , p. 95	Grateful Animals, Ungrateful Man (Pūr-nabhadrā I. 9)	Is itself literary	III. 7
p. 108	Dustabuddhi and Abuddhi (Tantrākhyāyika I. 15, etc.)	Unknown text	III. 15
Frere, <i>Old Decan Days</i> (2d ed.), p. 156	Lion and Hare (Tantrākhyāyika I. 6, etc.)	Textus Simplicior I. 8 or Pūr-nabhadrā I. 7	III. 6
Ganeshji Jethabhai, <i>Indian Folklore</i> , p. 30	Iron-eating Mice (Tantrākhyāyika I. 17, etc.)	Śukasaptati Simplicior 39	III. 17
Knowles, <i>Dictionary of Kashmiri Proverbs</i> , p. 192	Blue Jackal (Tantrākhyāyika I. 8, etc.)	A Persian or Arabic story	III. 9
p. 199	Iron-eating Mice (Tantrākhyāyika I. 17, etc.)	Persian Chihil Qissa	III. 17
Manwaring, <i>Marathi Proverbs</i> , p. 41	Strandbird and Sea (Tantrākhyāyika I. 10, etc.)	Original	III. 10

<i>Folk-tale</i>	<i>Pañcatantra parallel</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Where treated</i>
McNair and Barlow, ¹⁷ <i>Folk-Tales from the Indus Valley, Indian Antiquary</i> 29, p. 403	Grateful Animals, Ungrateful Man (Purabhadra I. 9)	Some Mohammedan tale	III. 7
Natesa Sastri, ¹⁷ <i>Folklore in Southern India</i> 1, p. 9	Grateful Animals, Ungrateful Man (Purabhadra I. 9)	Is itself literary	III. 7
O'Connor, <i>Folk-Tales from Tibet</i> , p. 23	Iron-eating Mice (Tantrākhyāyika I. 17, etc.)	Unknown Buddhist story	III. 17
p. 51	Lion and Hare (Tantrākhyāyika I. 6, etc.)	Original	III. 6
Pantalu, ¹⁷ <i>Folklore of the Telugus</i> (3d ed.), p. 9	Lion and Hare (Tantrākhyāyika I. 6, etc.)	Kalila wa Dimna	III. 6
p. 17	Dustabuddhi and Abuddhi (Tantrākhyāyika I. 15, etc.)	Kathāsaritsāgara	III. 15
p. 47	Heron and Crab (Tantrākhyāyika I. 5, etc.)	Tamil version translated by Dubois	III. 5
p. 53	Three Fish (Tantrākhyāyika I. 12, etc.)	Any Pañcatantra version except Textus Simplicior	III. 11
Parker, <i>Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon</i> I, p. 234	Hamisas and Tortoise (Tantrākhyāyika I. 11, etc.)	Unknown literary tale	III. 12
p. 247	Ape and Officious Bird (Textus Simplicior I. 18; IV. 11)	Tamil literary story	III. 14
p. 342 (3 variants)	Heron and Crab (Tantrākhyāyika I. 5, etc.)	Jātaka 38	III. 5
2, p. 385 (motif only)	Lion and Hare (Tantrākhyāyika I. 6, etc.)	Original	III. 6
p. 445	Sparrow and Elephant (Textus Simplicior I. 15)	Jātaka 357 and a Tamil story	III. 13
3, p. 22	Lion and Bull (Book I, frame story)	Jātaka 349	III. 1
p. 30	Louse and Flea (Tantrākhyāyika I. 7, etc.)	Is itself literary from Textus Simplicior I. 9	III. 8

¹⁷ These collections have been published in other forms; see the bibliography.

<i>Folk-tale</i>	<i>Pañcatantra parallel</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Where treated</i>
Pieris, <i>Sinhalese Folklore, Orientalist</i> 1, p. 134	Hamis and Tortoise (Tantrākhyāyika I. 11, etc.)	Unknown literary text	III. 12
Ramaswami Raju, <i>Indian Fables</i> , p. 78 p. 82	Crows and Snake (Tantrākhyāyika I. 4, etc.) Lion and Hare (Tantrākhyāyika I. 6, etc.)	Unidentified literary version Textus Simplior I. 8 or Pūr- nabhadra I. 7	III. 4 III. 6
p. 88	Heron and Crab (Tantrākhyāyika I. 5, etc.)	Any one of a number of texts	III. 5
Rouse, <i>Talking Thrush</i> , p. 130	Lion and Hare (Tantrākhyāyika I. 6, etc.)	Textus Simplior I. 8 or Pūr- nabhadra I. 7	III. 6 III. 14
pp. 170, 215	Ape and Officious Bird (Textus Simplior I. 18; IV. 11)	Hitopadeśa III. 1	III. 14
Skent, <i>Fables and Folk-Tales from an Eastern Forest</i> , p. 18	Heron and Crab (Tantrākhyāyika I. 5, etc.)	Jātaka 38	III. 5
p. 28	Lion and Hare (Tantrākhyāyika I. 6, etc.)	Hikāyat Kallā dan Damina	III. 6
p. 30	Lion and Bull (Book I, frame story)	Hikāyat Kallā dan Damina	III. 1
Smeaton, <i>Loyal Karens of Burma</i> , p. 137	Rams and Jackal (Tantrākhyāyika I. 3b, etc.)	Original	III. 2
Steel and Temple, <i>Panjab Tales</i> , <i>Indian Antiquary</i> 12, p. 177 (2 versions)	Lion and Hare (Tantrākhyāyika I. 6, etc.)	Version (1), Kallā wa Dimna Version (2), Textus Simplior	III. 6 III. 6
Steele, <i>Kusa Jātaka</i> , p. 255	Cranes and Mongoose (Tantrākhyāyika I. 16, etc.)	I. 8 or Pūr-nabhadra I. 7 Tamil literary story	III. 16
p. 250	Iron-eating Mice (Tantrākhyāyika I. 17, etc.)	Unknown Buddhist story	III. 17
p. 251	Heron and Crab (Tantrākhyāyika I. 5, etc.)	Jātaka 38	III. 5
Swymerton, <i>Romantic Tales from the Panjab with Indian Nights Entor- tainment</i> , p. 154	Lion and Hare (Tantrākhyāyika I. 6, etc.)	Anvar-i Suhaili I. 14	III. 6

<i>Folk-tale</i>	<i>Pāñcatantra parallel</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Where treated</i>
Taylor, <i>Indian Folk-Tales, Folk-Lore</i> 7, p. 88	Ape and Officious Bird (Textus Simplicior I. 18; IV. 11)	Textus Simplicior or Pūrṇa- bhadra	III. 14
Upreti, <i>Proverbs and Folklore of</i> <i>Kumaon and Garhwal</i> , p. 322	Grateful Animals, Ungrateful Man (Pūrṇa- bhadra I. 9)	Pūrṇabhadrā I. 9	III. 7
p. 403	Iron-eating Mice (Tantrākhyāyika I. 17, . etc.)	Śukasaptati Simplicior 39	III. 17

This table affords considerable evidence in support of the theory that it is the folk-tales and not the literary tales that are borrowed. It is always a literary version of wide currency in the region from which the oral tale is reported that is the nearest parallel to this oral tale and is selected as its source.¹⁸ These literary tales, however, have usually been imported into that region after having received their characteristic form elsewhere, and cannot, therefore, be considered as secondary to the folk stories. Rather the folk stories must be dependent upon them. Notice, for example, that Arabic or Persian tales appear as sources six times, and Pāli stories five times.

III. DISCUSSION OF INDIVIDUAL STORIES

Before entering upon the treatment of the oral stories a few remarks of an explanatory nature should be made.

The stories are discussed under their Pañcatantra titles in the order of the fables in the older Indian versions of the Pañcatantra as given by Hertel, *Das Pañcatantra*, p. 12 ff.

The various stages of treatment of the stories in each section are as follows: First, references are given to the Pañcatantra texts in which the literary story appears. Next follow references to the oral stories. After this I give a summary of the Pañcatantra type of the story. Last of all comes the discussion of the individual folk-tales. This order of treatment is occasionally varied, but the variations are always indicated.

In discussing the stories I have not thot it my duty to give all the literary parallels. These are now generally well-known in consequence of their indication by Hertel at scattered places in his *Das Pañcatantra* and in his *Tantrākhyāyika*, EINLEITUNG, p. 128 ff. I have referred to only those that seem to have a bearing upon the oral versions.

Nor have I anywhere in this essay given a bibliography of the various versions and texts of the Pañcatantra. These have been completely exploited by Hertel, *Das Pañcatantra*, Leipzig, B. Teubner, 1914; and Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages*

¹⁸ The single exception to this generality occurs in the case of a folk story reported in Pantalu, *Folklore of the Telugus*, of which the Kathāsaritsāgara furnishes the source, in all likelihood, however, acting thru some later and more familiar text.

arabes ou relatifs aux Arabes publiés dans l'Europe chrétienne de 1810 à 1885, vol. 2.

Last of all I want to call particular attention to the fact that in this paper I am dealing only with *stories* appearing in the folklore that are paralleled in the older versions of the Pañcatantra, not with *motifs* in the large. The distinction can be easily appreciated by glancing at the section devoted to the story of the Iron-eating Mice and comparing with the stories there treated the occurrences, listed in the footnote, of the same underlying psychic motif.

1. *LION AND BULL*: Pañcatantra, Book I, frame story.

Folklore: Parker, *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon*, 3, p. 22; Skeat, *Fables and Folk-Tales from an Eastern Forest*, p. 30.

Parker's story is as follows: A jackal, seeing a lion and bull friends, wishes to be admitted to their friendship, and approaches the bull with this end in view. The bull repels him, and to revenge himself the jackal brings about a quarrel between the two, telling the lion that the bull claims to be the more powerful, and the bull that the lion intends to kill him with his roar. The bull and the lion fight, with the result that the lion's roar kills the bull and the bull gores the lion to death.

This story is markedly different from that of the Pañcatantra in which one of a pair of jackals, ministers of a lion, first welcomes a bull, and, later, jealous of the favor the lion shows him, estranges them. They fight and the lion kills the bull. It comes nearer a Buddhist story found in Jātaka 349, Schiefner, *Tibetan Tales* (Ralston's translation), p. 325, Jülg, *Mongolische Märchen*, p. 172, Busk, *Sagas from the Far East*, p. 192; Chavannes, *Cinq Centes Contes et Apologues* II, p. 425.¹⁹ These literary tales and the oral tale differ from the Pañcatantra stories in these respects: the lion and bull are friends before the jackal appears on the scene, and both are killed in the fight. The oral tale, however, disagrees with the Buddhist literary tale in these points: the jackal is not admitted to the friendship of the lion and the bull, and it is by roaring that the lion kills the bull. This widespread and ancient Buddhist literary story, however, is the source of the oral tale. The lion's roar that kills

¹⁹ A variant in which the attempted estrangement is not successful is found in Schiefner, *l. c.* p. 328, Chavannes, *l. c.* 2, p. 233, and Jātaka 361.

is of frequent occurrence in Buddhist literature,²⁰ and has found its way into this story through the narrator's familiarity with it as the way *par excellence* for a lion to destroy his enemy. The only other notable difference lies in the first part of the oral tale, where the jackal makes overtures to the bull and is repelled. This is a folk substitution for the prelude to the literary tale which, being of secondary importance in the plot of the fable, has been forgotten. That the oral story is borrowed from the literary tale, and not the literary tale from the oral, seems self-evident here. It would be barely possible that the Sinhalese oral tale is responsible for the Pāli tale, but it is inconceivable that it should be the source of the ancient Tibetan tale mentioned above.

The Malay tale of Skeat is a queer jumble. The mousedeer sets the Wild Bull of the Clearing and the Bull of the Young Bush to fighting by alleging that each has slandered the other. The Bull of the Clearing slays his rival. The mousedeer has watched the battle from a seat on a white-ant hill, and the ants have burrowed into him so that he cannot rise. The victorious bull scatters the anthill and releases him. The mousedeer cuts the dead bull's throat, according to Mohammedan rites, and commences to flay the carcase. At this juncture a tiger approaches, and asks for some of the meat (evidently thinking that the mousedeer has slain the bull). He obtains his request on condition that he assist in the flaying. Rain falls, and the mousedeer sends the tiger to cut boughs with which to make a shelter. The tiger tries to clamber upon a raft in a river; but the bank is so slippery and his shoulders so wet with blood that he does not succeed. Noticing the mousedeer quivering, he says, 'What makes you shiver so?' The mousedeer replies ferociously, 'I am quivering with anticipation.' The tiger, fearing that the mousedeer means with anticipation of eating him, runs away.

Since other Malay tales are descended from Semitic sources,²¹ and since this story itself shows Moslem influences, such as the throat-cutting noted above, we may assume that it comes into

²⁰ See Jātakas 152 and 241; Chavannes, *Cinq Cents Contes et Apologues* 2, p. 339; Parker, *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon*, 1, p. 242.

²¹ For example, the Malayan folk version of the Lion and the Hare treated below.

the folklore thru the Malayan Hikāyat Kalila dan Damina. In the folk treatment the lion and the bull, by a process of assimilation, have become two bulls. The account of their friendship has been omitted. The incident of the mousedeer stuck to the ant-hill is a touch of local humor. The rest of the story, the frightening of the strong tiger by the weak mousedeer, is an illustration of the motif of bluff.²²

2. *RAMS AND JACKAL*: Tantrākhyāyika I, 3b, and in all other older versions except Somadeva and Kṣemendra.

Folklore: Smeaton, *Loyal Karens of Burmah*, p. 137.

Two rams are fighting. A jackal sees the conflict and runs in between them to lick up the blood that flows from their heads. Failing to get out of their way, he is caught between them as they charge each other and is crushed to death.

In Smeaton's tale a black and a white buffalo graze together peacefully in a large plain. A hare tells each of them that the other is complaining of his fellow's greed for grass, and in this way sets them fighting. While they are goring each other, he skips from the head of one to the other, urging them to fight with greater fury. By a misstep he falls between their two heads just as they meet, and is killed.

This oral tale has no good literary parallel, and in its present form seems original. Certainly only the plot, and not the details, can be borrowed from literature. The incident of the two buffaloes who first graze together peacefully and are afterwards set at enmity by the hare reminds one of the Malayan oral version of the Lion and the Bull discussed above, and may possibly be a reflection of it. The hare is the 'clever animal' in Karen stories, and here plays that part by causing trouble between the two buffaloes. The story seems to be a combination of the Malayan tale mentioned and the story of the Rams and the Jackal.

3. *UNCHASTE WEAVER'S WIFE*: All older versions of the Pañcatantra as I, 3c or 4c, except in Somadeva and Kṣemendra; in Hitopadeśa II, 5b.

Folklore: Bompas, *Folklore of the Santal Parganas*, p. 304.

A weaver one night catches his wife in the act of going to her lover, and ties her to a post. While the weaver is asleep,

²² A paper by me discussing this motif will soon appear in print.

a barber's wife, who acts as procuress, releases her and takes her place. The husband awakes and addresses some words to the substitute wife, but she, fearing discovery, does not reply. In anger he cuts off her nose. The real wife soon returns and exchanges places with her substitute. In the morning she makes a trick asseveration of truth by her chastity, calling upon the powers of Heaven to restore her nose if she be truly chaste. When the weaver sees his wife with her nose whole he thinks it has been restored by virtue of her chastity, is convinced that he has misjudged her, and begs her pardon. At this point the Hitopadeśa story ends, but the other versions tell how the barber's wife fixes the blame for the loss of her nose upon her husband.

The folk story is part of a longer tale which is made up, like many other folk stories, of several small tales.² A husband finds that his wife has illicit relations with a Jugī. He beats her. The Jugī hears the woman cry, and sends an old woman to summon her. The old woman takes the place of the wife, weeping and wailing in her stead, while the wife goes to the Jugī. The husband, irritated by the false wife's noise, rushes out of the house, and cuts off her nose. When the real wife returns she complains of the false charge her husband has brot against her. She then calls him to come and see the miracle that has taken place. He finds her with her face whole, repents of his conduct, and has full faith in her virtue. From the fact that the folk-tale ends here, as does the Hitopadeśa, and since the Hitopadeśa is the common Bengal version of the Pañcatantra, I conclude that it is the source of the oral story, acting thru any Sanskrit or vernacular text current in Bengal.³

4. *CROWS AND SNAKE*: All older versions of the Pañcatantra except Somadeva, being Tantrākhyāyika I. 4 etc.

Folklore: Ramaswami Raju, *Indian Fables*, p. 78.

A snake, living at the foot of a tree in which a family of crows have their nest, has a habit of devouring their young. To get

² The first part of the story is an account of the husband's discovery of his wife's infidelity. He locks her out of the house, whereupon she throws a large stone in to a pool of water. When he hears the splash, he thinks she is drowning herself, and rushes out to save her. She quickly slips into the house herself, and locks out her husband. The next day he punishes her as told above.

rid of the enemy the male crow steals some jewelry and drops it down the snake's hole. The owner has the hole dug up to recover his property, and while doing so kills the snake. In all literary versions except the Southern Pañcatantra and Hitopadeśa the male crow consults his wise friend, the jackal, who suggests to him the stratagem by which the snake is destroyed.

In the oral story a serpent eats the young of a raven. The raven offers the serpent a portion of her daily food to secure immunity for her offspring; but the snake rejects the bargain, disdaining the carrion on which the raven feeds. The raven, going to a palace, steals a bracelet belonging to the queen and drops it in the serpent's hole. As the servants dig for the bracelet, the snake attacks them, and they kill it.

This oral story agrees with no literary version I have seen, the chief point of difference being the proposed bargain. In other respects (the kind of jewelry and place from which stolen) it agrees better with Tantrākhyāyika than with any other version, altho no mention is made in the popular story of the jackal as adviser, in which point it is similar to the Hitopadeśa. The tale appears either to be descended from some literary version with which I am not familiar, or to have been deliberately modified by Ramaswami Raju in the retelling.

5. *HERON AND CRAB*: All Pañcatantra books (Tantrākhyāyika I. 5, etc.).

Folklore: Ramaswami Raju, *Indian Fables*, p. 88; Pantalu, *Folklore of the Telugus* (3d ed.) p. 47 (*Indian Antiquary* 26, p. 168); Steele, *Kusa Jātakaya*, p. 251; Parker, *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon*, 1, p. 342 (three variants); Skeat, *Fables and Folk-Tales from an Eastern Forest*, p. 18.

A heron reports to a pond full of fish that destruction threatens them. In response to their alarmed inquiries as to how they may be saved, he offers to carry them to another pool. They agree, and he takes them away one at a time, not, however, to another pond, but to a tree where he eats them. Not content with the fish he tries the same trick on a crab. The latter, however, sees thru the deceit, and cuts the heron's throat with his claws.

The literary versions may be divided into two classes: (1) those in which not all the fish in the pond are eaten by the heron, but some live to hear the crab tell of the villain's destruction;

and (2) those in which no mention is made of any fish surviving or of the crab returning to them. The first class includes Tantrākhyāyika, Tantrākhyāna, Textus Simplicior, Pūrṇabhadrā, and Kalila wa Dimna; the second includes Somadeva, Kṣemendra, Southern Pañcatantra, and Hitopadeśa. Two other versions are distinguished by an especial characteristic. In Jātaka 38 and Dubois's *Pantcha-Tantra*, p. 76, the heron points out or prophesies a drought and thus persuades the fish to leave their home, while in the other versions he claims to have overheard fishermen planning to fish out the pond.

Ramaswami Raju's story agrees with those in class (1) noted above. It is an abbreviation of some one of them, just what one cannot even be surmised because Mr. Raju is unscientific enough not to give any indication as to the part of India from which his stories come.

Pantalu's Telugu story belongs with Dubois's tale, mentioned above. They agree even so far as to specify the same length of time for the duration of the drought prophesied, twelve years. The crab, however, is not mentioned in Pantalu's story. It ends with the wicked crane enjoying his unholy feast. The folk-tale is a descendant of the one translated by Dubois, in which the point of the story, the punishment of the rascally crane, has been forgotten.

There are four Sinhalese folk versions of this tale, one in Steele's work and three in Parker's (see references above). For the sake of convenience I refer to Parker's three variants as (1), (2), and (3). All of these come from the Jātaka story. In Steele, and in Parker (1) and (2), it is stated that the pond in which the fish live is drying up, just as in the Pāli tale. In Parker (1) the heron offers the fish as a reason for changing their home the small size of the hole in which they live. The hole is a folk substitution for the original lake which has been forgotten. Parker (1) is the only one of the four versions that retains the heron's claim that he is living an ascetic life. Parker (2) and (3) describe how the fish send a scout to examine the new home. This incident is peculiar to the Jātaka among the literary texts; it describes the scout as large and one-eyed. The description is lacking in the oral tales. Parker (3) varies this point by having the heron devour the scout, instead of bringing him back to report. To excuse the failure of the scout to return,

the heron says that the first fish is so happy in his new quarters that he refuses to leave them. The correct conclusion of the tale, the killing of the heron by the crab, is found only in Steele and Parker (1). In Parker (3) both animals perish, and in Parker (2) the heron kills the crab. This latter case shows how unintelligently the folk can treat a story. The moral has quite vanished. A composite of these four Sinhalese folk tales would give the Jātaka story nearly as in the Pāli, and we may conclude that it is their source.

The Malayan tale of Skeat is also borrowed from the Jātaka, showing the characteristic features of that version, for in this oral tale the villain (a pelican) prophesies a drought and the fish send one of their number to examine the new pool.

6. *LION AND HARE*: All Pañcatantra books. (Tantrā-kyāyika I. 6, etc.)

Folklore: Rouse, *Talking Thrush*, p. 130; Frere, *Old Deccan Days* (2d ed.), p. 156; Pantalu, *Folklore of the Telugus* (3d ed.), p. 9 (*Indian Antiquary* 26, p. 27); Butterworth, *Zigzag Journeys in India*, p. 16; Swynnerton, *Romantic Tales from the Panjab with Indian Nights' Entertainment*, p. 154; Ramaswami Raju, *Indian Fables*, p. 82; O'Connor, *Folk-Tales from Tibet*, p. 51; Parker, *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon*, 2, p. 385; Skeat, *Fables and Folk-Tales from an Eastern Forest*, p. 28; Steel and Temple, *Punjabi Tales*, *Indian Antiquary* 12, p. 177 (2 versions); Dames, *Balochi Tales*, *Folk-Lore* 3, p. 517.

The lion terrorizes the other animals of the forest by the indiscriminate slaughter he makes among them. They persuade him to cease on condition that they supply him with one of their number every day. When it comes the hare's turn to be the lion's dinner, he plans to destroy the tyrant. He does not arrive in the lion's presence until late, and excuses himself by saying that another lion has detained him on the way. The first lion is angry, and demands to be shown his rival. The hare tells him to look down a certain well. He does so, mistakes his own reflection for the other lion, leaps at it, and is drowned.

The literary versions of this story naturally divide themselves into two classes: (1) those in which the hare says that he himself was appointed by the rest of the animals to be the lion's prey—these include all Indian Pañcatantra books except those noted in the next class; (2) those in which the hare says he was

sent with a second and fatter hare which was meant to be the lion's dinner but which has been seized by the other lion—these include *Kalila wa Dimna* (all versions), *Pañcākhyānavārttika* 30, *Pandja Tandaram* (see Hertel, *Das Pañcatantra*, pp. 67 and 299). To class (2) belongs properly the story as told in the Jainistic *Pañcatantra* books, *Textus Simplicior* I. 8 and *Pūrṇabhadra* I. 7. In these the hare says that he was sent in company with five other hares, evidently all to be eaten by the lion. The five are kept by the rival lion as hostages.

The folk stories are differentiated similarly. To class (1) belong those in Rouse, Frere, Butterworth, Raju, O'Connor, Parker, Steel and Temple (version 2), and Dames. To class (2) belong those in Pantalu, Swynnerton, Skeat, and Steel and Temple's *Punjabi Stories* (version 1).

Rouse's and Raju's stories are to all intents and purposes the same. The tyrant animal in Raju's tale is the tiger, which is interchangeable with the lion in folklore. Except for the fact that the folk-tales make no mention of any other hares than the one clever hare, this tale would represent an abbreviated version of *Textus Simplicior* or *Pūrṇabhadra*. It cannot be from the *Hitopadeśa* or any other version included in class (1), because it contains two details found in the Jainistic texts which do not appear in class (1): the hare says that the rival lion claims to be the real lord of the forest; and after the lion has been killed the other animals unite in singing the praises of their deliverer, the hare. These oral versions are either a folk working over of the Jainistic story from which mention of the other hares has been omitted, or a popular form of some literary descendant of the Jainistic tale that omits this detail.

Dames's story has the same origin as the two just treated. It agrees with Raju's story except in these three points: the clever animal is a fox, not a hare: the fox does not say that the other tiger claims to be king, but merely remarks that another tiger has come into the country and is even now sitting at home after enjoying a jackal; and after the fox has destroyed the tiger, and returned safe, he is called to account by the other animals who sent him for apparently not reporting to the tiger, at which time he tells how he killed the tiger.

Steel and Temple's second version also agrees well with Raju's tale except that the clever animal is a vixen, and that the vixen

tells the tiger that a similar agreement has been made by the animals with the tiger's brother. The tiger demands that the vixen show him his brother, and, of course, is shown his reflection in a well.

The Tibetan tale of O'Counor differs widely from all the other versions with which I am familiar. A hare is caught by a lion. He advises the lion to eat another and very large animal, larger even than the lion himself, and very dangerous, which lives in a water-tank. The lion compels the hare to lead him to this tank. On arriving there, goaded to fury by the cautions of the hare not to attack the ferocious beast in the tank, the lion leaps in and is drowned. The next day the hare tells the lioness that he has destroyed her mate. She chases him, and he leads her to a hole in the wall of an old castle, into which she rushes with so much momentum that she sticks there unable to get out, and eventually dies of starvation.²⁴ This is the literary story very much changed by folk treatment, preserving only the main point of the literary tales and varying all the details. It is original.

Frere's and Butterworth's stories are identical, corresponding at times even in wording, and may be treated as one. The hero is a jackal. There is no mention of an agreement between the lion and the rest of the animals. The story opens with a reign of terror in which the lion slays all the wild beasts of the forest except two jackals. These elude him for some time, but are finally compelled to come to him. From then on the story is the same as that of Rouse or of Raju until the conclusion. Here the Frere-Butterworth tale tells how the jackals stoned the lion after he fell into the well. This folk-tale is a grand-child of the Jainistic texts, but thru some version which I do not know. The stoning of the lion is found in the literature in Dubois's *Pantcha-Tantra*, p. 89, where all the animals roll large stones upon the lion. This latter version of the story is too far removed from the oral tale in other respects to be its source.

Parker's story is another familiar tale to which is appended

²⁴ This manner of killing the lioness is found in Bompas's *Folklore of the Santal Parganas*, appendix ('Folklore of the Kolhan'), p. 456, where a jackal accomplishes the ruin of a tiger in exactly the same way. It seems probable that this incident in the Tibetan tale is an addition taken by the folk story-teller from the incident-collection of his own mind.

the trick employed by the hare against the lion. A bear finds a woman in the forest, and takes her to his cave. Her two brothers, tracing her by the crowing of a cock which she raises, take her away with the two children she has had by the bear. The bear follows them and asks the woman why she has left. She replies that a cleverer bear has called her, whereupon he wishes to see the cleverer bear, and she shows him his reflection in a well. He leaps at the reflection and is drowned. This is the familiar story of the woman who marries a wild animal, and is afterwards rescued from him,²³ but in this case the narrator has extricated the woman from the animal's power by using the trick belonging in the story of the lion and the hare. The folk-tale as a whole is original.

We now turn to those stories belonging to class (2). Swynerton's tale conforms closely to that of the *Kalila wa Dimna*, and is probably descended from the *Anvar-i Suhaili* I. 14. The differences between the two are slight and only in matters of detail: for example, the villain is a tiger, not a lion, a difference, as I have indicated above, that is no difference at all.

Pantalu's tale is also from the *Kalila wa Dimna* in a much abbreviated form. It cannot have any relationship with *Pañcā-khyānavūrttika* 30, the Indian representative of class (2), because in the latter no mention is made of the lion holding the hare in his arms as he looks at his reflection in the water. In the Telugu fable the clever animal is a fox. This version of the story has come into the Telugu country from the Northwest.

The story reported by Steel and Temple (1) is also from the *Kalila wa Dimna*, but its precise and immediate origin is not clear. A tiger catches a jackal. The jackal says, 'You had better kill that tiger yonder before you eat me, lest he hurt your forest while you sleep.' When he shows the tiger his reflection in the water, the tiger hesitates to attack. The jackal says, 'He has caught a fine, fat jackal, tho.' The tiger leaps in the well and is drowned. The last remark of the jackal shows that this story once knew the incident of the second jackal (or hare). This, however, has been lost, and the only trace we have of it is the jackal's pointing out another of his own kind in the well.

²³ Cf. Parker, *Volcanic Folk-Tales of Ceylon*, 2, p. 188; Bompas, *Folklore of the Santal Paroias*, p. 154, appendix: 'Folklore of the Kallian', p. 454; Kingscote, *Tales of the Sun*, p. 119.

The folk story is much shortened in other respects, too,—for example, by the omission of the account of an agreement between the tiger and the other animals.

The story from Malay in Skeat's work is also from the *Kalila wa Dimna*, but thru the Malayan *Hikāyat Kalila dan Damina*. The mousedeer, which is the clever animal in Malay stories, has not come himself to be eaten by the tiger, but apologizes to him with these words, 'I could not bring you any of the other beasts because the way was blocked by a fat old tiger with a flying squirrel sitting astride its muzzle.' When the tiger goes to look in the water the flying squirrel, who has come with the mousedeer, sits upon his muzzle, and the mousedeer upon his hind-quarters. Of course the tiger sees their reflection in the water as well as his own, and thinks he sees other animals. The incident is a reminiscence of the second hare in the *Kalila wa Dimna*. This oral story is a poor illustration of a popular form current in Malay which is represented in the Tamil-Malayan *Pandja Tandaram* (see Hertel, *Das Pañcatantra*, pp. 67, 295, and 299). There it is told of a lion and a mousedeer, in a form which more nearly resembles that of the *Kalila wa Dimna*. It is the story of the *Hikāyat Kalila dan Damina*, modified by the folk and used by Abdullah bin Abdelkader in his *Pandja Tandaram*.

7. *GRATEFUL ANIMALS, UNGRATEFUL MAN*: Pūrṇabhadra I. 9, and versions dependent thereon (see Hertel, *Das Pañcatantra*, pp. 114, 135, 269, 305, 308, 322, and 343); *Kalila wa Dimna* (see Hertel, *op. cit.*, pp. 371 and 424).²⁶

Folklore: Fleeson, *Laos Folklore of Farther India*, p. 95; Natesa Sastri, *Folklore in Southern India*, 1, p. 9 (also published in the *Indian Antiquary* 13, p. 256; *Indian Folk-Tales*, p. 8; Kingscote, *Tales of the Sun*, p. 11); Upreti, *Proverbs and Folklore of Kumaun and Garhwal*, p. 322; Damant, *Bengali Folklore*, in the *Indian Antiquary* 1, p. 118; Bompas, *Folklore of the Santal Parganas*, p. 293; McNair and Barlow, *Folk-Tales from the Indus Valley*, in the *Indian Antiquary* 29, p. 403 (also published in their book, *Oral Tradition from the Indus*).

²⁶ Also found in Buddhist literature: *Jātaka* 73; *Rasavāhinī* 4; Chavannes, *Cinq Cents Contes et Apologues*, 1, p. 87; Schiefner, *Tibetan Tales* (Ralston), p. 309; *Karmaśataka* (see Benfey, *Pantschatantra*, 1, pp. 195 and 208); and *Kathāsaritsāgara* (Tawney's translation 2, p. 103). It appears also in Petis de la Croix, *Mille et un Jours*, jour 239 ff.

According to Pūrṇabhadra a poor Brahman is driven from home by his wife with the injunction to secure means of sustenance for his family. He wanders in a wood, and while looking there for water finds a well into which have fallen a tiger, an ape, a snake, and a man (a goldsmith). All these he rescues, altho the animals warn against the ingratitude of mankind in general and goldsmiths in particular. On his way home the Brahman becomes hungry and thinks of the ape, who appears at once and presents him with fresh fruit. Similarly the tiger gives him jewels taken from a prince he has recently killed. The Brahman hastens to the city and takes these jewels to the goldsmith for appraisal. The latter at once recognizes the jewelry as his own handiwork, and to secure a reward accuses the Brahman before the King of murdering the prince. While bound and awaiting death the Brahman thinks of the snake, who comes immediately and takes steps to save his benefactor. He bites the chief queen, and she is cured only when the Brahman strokes her with his hand. The truth is now made manifest, the goldsmith is punished, and the Brahman is elevated to the place of minister.

Of the oral citations two are not folk productions but literary—Fleeson's and Natesa's tales. In a footnote Miss Fleeson says, 'This only of the Folk Tales has been written before. It is taken from an ancient temple book and is well-known in all the Laos country.' Natesa is not so frank about his story, but it is unquestionably literary. It is constructed around a Sanskrit verse susceptible of two interpretations, the pointing out of which *double entente* furnishes the dénouement. Further the style of the narrative in general is distinctly literary, not oral.

Among the truly oral stories that of Upreti is similar to the Pañcatantra versions rather than to those in Buddhist literature, and might be derived from any of these texts that has had access to the region of Kumaun and Garhwal.

Damant's story, which is merely an incident in a longer tale, has features that differentiate it from any literary version. It goes thus: A prince after several adventures meets and lives with a woman. Altho strictly enjoined not to go to the westernmost point of the surrounding country, he nevertheless journeys there one day, and finds in a well a man, a tiger, a snake, and a frog. He pulls out the tiger, who thanks him and advises him

not to rescue any creature without a tail. So also he saves the snake, who gives him the same counsel. Next he draws out the frog, a tailless animal, who spits at him for his pains, and last the man, also without a tail, who basely seizes his rescuer and throws him into the well. Alarmed by the prince's continued absence, the woman goes to seek him, and rescues him.

This oral story shows the familiar motif of 'Grateful animals, ungrateful man' treated in a new, but inferior, fashion; it appears to be original among the folk.

The story reported by Bompas has a setting similar to that published by Damant, but has some marked differences in other points. A ferryman walks in a forbidden direction (south). He rescues successively a cow from a pit, a buffalo from a bog, and a man from a well. The latter, however, ungratefully pushes his rescuer into the very well from which he has just been lifted. The ferryman is later saved by his wife, who scolds him, and the two then leave the country.

This version with the successive, rather than simultaneous, meeting with those in trouble comes closer to the Buddhist tale reported from Laos by Miss Fleeson than to any other form I have encountered, but I do not feel that it is traceable to that source. It is a poor and abbreviated anecdote here, severely mutilated and with so many omissions and modifications as to be interesting chiefly as an illustration of the deterioration a good story may suffer among the folk.

The story given by McNair and Barlow is one of a series of anecdotes told about Sakhi, the pious Mussulman. He rescues a jackal and a snake from a well, and also, despite their cautions, a man. The snake shows his gratitude by spitting up a lump of gold and pointing out some herbs of marvelous medicinal value. Sakhi and the rescued man now travel on together, and when they arrive at a city this man, who is a prince, suddenly claims the gold and has Sakhi brot before the Kazi. The latter decides in favor of the prince, and has Sakhi sewn up in a raw calfskin and exposed to the sun as a thief. At this juncture the king of the country becomes afflicted with a terrible disease that cannot be cured until Sakhi applies the herbs shown him by the snake. He is rewarded with a half of the kingdom and the hand of the princess. Nothing more is said of the ungrateful man. The jackal afterwards shows his gratitude to Sakhi by

giving him a beautiful flower from a spot where the Panj Pir have prayed.

This too is a much mutilated version of the story, from which many important details have been lost. As striking an omission as any is the failure to state that the King's disease has come upon him in consequence of the injustice suffered by Sakhi. There is no close literary parallel for this oral tale, but it shows so many touches of Mohammedanism that we may predicate some Mohammedan tale—that in the *Kalila wa Dimna* perhaps—as its starting point, altho the details that have been added and that give the story its individuality are original among the folk.

8. *LOUSE AND FLEA*: All Pañcatantra versions (*Tantrākhyāyika* I. 7, etc.).

Folklore: Parker, *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon*, 3, p. 30.

A louse inhabits the bed of a King. A flea comes there and insists on remaining in spite of the remonstrances of the louse. The flea nips the King so hard that he feels the bite. The bed is searched, the flea escapes, but the louse is found, convicted by circumstantial evidence, and killed.

The Sinhalese folk story could pass for a translation of the prose part of the story in *Textus Simplicior* I. 9, barring a few points that might be mistranslations. In *Simplicior* and in the oral tale a bug appears in place of the flea. Either the Sanskrit or some descendent of *Simplicior* has been given directly to the Sinhalese folk and collected by Parker before popular handling had deprived it of any of its distinguishing marks.

9. *BLUE JACKAL*: *Tantrākhyāyika* I. 8; *Textus Simplicior* I. 10; *Pūrṇabhadra* I. 11.

Folklore: Dracott, *Simla Village Tales*, p. 198; Knowles, *Dictionary of Kashmiri Proverbs*, p. 192; Knowles, *Folk-Tales of Kashmir*, p. 260.

A jackal falls into a dyer's vat, and comes out blue. When he returns to the forest he claims to be appointed king of the animals and maintains this position as long as he keeps the jackals near him. But when he sends them away in his pride, the other animals recognize his true nature from his cry, which is no longer drowned in that of the other jackals, and kill him.

Miss Dracott's story is as follows. A jackal is in the habit of going to a village every evening. One evening he puts his head in a vessel of indigo and it comes out dyed. On returning to

the jungle he so charms the other animals with his handsome appearance that they make him their king. At first the king keeps the jackals near him and his howling at night is unnoticed, but one day, becoming angry with some young jackals, he removes them from his neighborhood, and that night, when he howls, his true jackal nature is recognized. At once the other animals drive him out.

This is a popular version of Nakhshibi's *Tutināme* 32. 1, Kadiri's version XVII (probably thru the Hindī *Totā Kahānī*), differing from it only in slight details. One of these is that the Persian makes the jackal king of his own species before he becomes king of the rest of the animals. The oral tale does not tell us this, but there seems to be a reminiscence of it in the statement that he kept the jackals near him. The Persian says that the king dismissed the jackals from his presence because he was ashamed of them; the oral tale says he dismissed them because he was angry with some young jackals.

The story in Knowles, *Dictionary of Kashmiri Proverbs*, goes thus. One night a jackal tumbled into a dyer's blue pot. On seeing his color he was afraid to return to his companions. Eventually he went to live on top of a high rock. The other animals got to know of the unusual-looking stranger and tendered the kingship to him. He was crowned, and all went well until evening. Then the other jackals howled, and he instinctively joined in with them. His true nature thus became apparent, and the lion, bear, and tiger killed him.

This oral story has lost the distinguishing marks of the various literary versions, and further has an addition which I have not seen elsewhere: namely, the jackal takes up his abode on a rock before he is seen by the other animals. This Kashmiri fable may be of independent existence among the folk, but I suggest that it has a prototype somewhere in Persian or Arabic literature.

Altho the tale in Knowles, *Folk-Tales of Kashmir*, has something in common with the story of the Blue Jackal, it is properly another fable, purely popular in character, of which a better illustration is given in Swynnerton's *Romantic Tales from the Panjab with Indian Nights' Entertainment*, p. 313. In the latter story some jackals find a bundle of papers, which suggests to them the election of a *lambardār*. The fortunate (?) can-

didate is provided with the papers as evidence of his authority, and a basket is tied to his tail in lieu of a crown. Suddenly dogs attack the jackals. They all flee to their holes, but the *lambardār's* decoration prevents him from entering his, and the dogs catch and kill him. The point of the story is to show the perils that are attached to honor, and this same point is made in the Kashmiri tale of Knowles. The latter is rather different from the former and not so good. It is, in brief, as follows. All the animals had their respective kings. The jackals also elected one, choosing an old jackal, who 'by way of distinction allowed his fur to be dyed blue, and an old broken winnowing fan to be fastened around his neck.' One day a tiger came upon the king and many of his subjects. All escaped but His Majesty, who was unable to get thru the narrow entrance to his cave on account of the winnowing fan around his neck. The tiger tied him by a rope to his cave. Eventually the jackal escaped, but when his former subjects wanted him to reassume his position, he declined to encounter for the second time the risks attendant upon the honor. Knowles's tale is clearly a poorly told version of the story given by Swynnerton.²⁷ It illustrates how a storyteller who remembers only the theme and some of the incidents of a story supplies details from his imagination or his general stock of folk-tale incidents. The narrator has added to the story of the jackal as *lambardār* the incident of the jackal dyed blue, using it, however, in a secondary and superficial way.

10. *STRANDBIRD AND SEA*: All Pañcatantra books (Tantrākhyāyika I. 10, etc.).

Folklore: Manwaring, *Marathi Proverbs*, proverb 297, p. 41.

The folktale is as follows. The eggs of a *titre* (Skt. *tittibha*) are washed away by the sea. When the sea will not return them, the bird with the aid of her mate attempts to empty it by fling-

Still another and different version of this story appears in Upreti, *Proverbs and Folklore of Kumaon and Garhwal*, p. 127. A fox, finding a dead elephant, convinced the rest of his kind that he had slain it, at their request allowed them to eat of it, and was later chosen their King with the name Hattamalla 'elephant-destroyer'. He was seated on a throne made of grass and rags, which was tied to his tail, and he was carried around by the rest of the foxes. One day they all entered a sheepfold and the watch dogs were set upon them. All escaped except the King, who was hindered by the throne, and the dogs tore him to pieces.

ing aside the water with her beak. Nārada, the god of quarrels, learns of the affair, and instigates the eagle (Garuda?) to help the *tītus*. The eagle with his army of birds unites with the strandbirds. The fish fear that the sea will be emptied and appeal to Viṣṇu, who adjusts matters.

No Pañcatantra version to which I have access agrees in all important points with this tale, altho Pūrṇabhadra's story comes closest to it. These differences, however, are to be found in his tale. (1) The *titibhas*, not Nārada and Garuda, enlist the aid of all the birds against the sea; (2) they endeavor to fill the sea with stones, not to empty it; (3) a wise *hamsa*, not Nārada, *advises* them to appeal to Garuda, king of the birds; (4) Garuda induces Viṣṇu to coerce the sea, and the fish do not beg him to settle matters. The first difference could very well be an omission in tradition, but the other points of disagreement betoken either a very wide divergence of the oral story from the form it had in its parent literary state, or descent from some later version of the Pañcatantra tale, or nearly complete folk existence.

Nirmala Pāṭhaka's Old Marathi recension can not claim its fatherhood, for in its story no mention is made of Viṣṇu (Hertel, *Das Pañcatantra*, p. 277). Other versions from the Marathi section of India are not accessible to me, but it is not likely that any of them would agree with the oral story; and the third possible origin suggested (almost complete folk originality) seems correct.

11. *THREE FISH*: All versions of Pañcatantra (Tantrākhyāyika I. 12, etc.; Hitopadeśa IV. 2).

Folklore: Puntalu, *Folklore of the Telugus* 3d ed. p. 53 (Indian Antiquary 26, p. 224).

Three fish overhear fishermen planning to draw the lake in which they live. One leaves the lake; the second acts with presence of mind when he is caught and escapes; while the third, a fatalist, resigns himself without effort to destiny and perishes.

The folktale is as follows. Three fish live in a lake. One of these notices that the water is drying up and advises his companions to leave lest they all be caught by fishermen, but they refuse to go. He himself leaves. Later fishermen catch the two other fish. One 'plays possum' and jumps back into the water as soon as the fishers turn their backs, but the other makes a great commotion and is killed.

In all literary versions *Anāgatavidhātṛ*—the prudent fish—hears fishermen planning to draw the lake and advises flight. This incident evidently has been forgotten in the popular telling where *Anāgatavidhātṛ* predicts danger, without being directly confronted by it. With the exception of this point, the oral tale agrees closely enough with any one of the literary versions to be derived from it, except *Textus Sampurnus*, where both *Anāgatavidhātṛ* and *Pratyutpannamatṛ*—the ready-witted fish—leave before the fishermen commence their labors, and the *Mahābhārata*, where the second fish bites the string on which the dead fish are strung as though he were himself caught and later slips off when an opportunity arises.

12. *HAIRYAS AND TORTOISE*: All versions of *Pañcatantra*—*Tantrākhyāyika* I, 11, etc.—

Folklore—Paris, *Sinhalese Folklore*, in *The Orientalist*, I, p. 134; Parker, *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon*, I, p. 234.

A tortoise, anxious to go to a strange pool with two *hairyas*, friends of his, seizes a stick with his mouth, and in this way is carried by them thru the air. Forgetting himself, he opens his mouth to speak, loses his hold, and falls to the earth, where he is killed either by the force of the fall or by people there.

The only literary version that we need consider here is that of Dubois's *Pantcha Tantra*, p. 109, since both of the oral stories mentioned are allied to it. The characteristic feature of this literary tale and the two folk tales is that a fox, or jackal, and people, makes the remark that induces the tortoise to speak and therefore to fall, and immediately positions upon the poor creature to eat him. The hard shell of the tortoise, however, baffles him; and at his victim's own suggestion he carries him to the water to soften him, keeping a paw upon his back while submerged so that he may not escape. After softening a while, the tortoise says that he is all soft except the spot on which the jackal's foot is resting. The jackal lifts his foot, and the tortoise slips away to safety.

There are a number of points of difference between the various versions. Dubois calls the birds eagles, while the folk tales call them cranes¹² and storks, nor does he give a reason why the

¹² Parker, *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon*, I, p. 234, calls attention to the fact that the animals named by Dubois "fox" and "cranes" are not found in

birds wish to leave their original home; but the folk-tales both state that the cause for making the change of residence is a drought which has dried up the water in the pond where the tortoise lives; and in a variant of Parker's the drought is said to have lasted seven years. Dubois's tale claims a friendship of long standing between the three animals, Parker's only proximity of residence, and Pieris's no more than a chance meeting at the time of trouble. The speeches of the jackal also vary in the three versions. These matters of difference are sufficient to show that Dubois's tale can not be regarded as the parent of the folk-tales. All three evidently point to a form of the story native to Southern India as such, which is yet to appear in the vernacular literature.²⁹

In Pieris's tale the fox in an effort to recover the escaped tortoise seizes a Kekaṭiya yam that is floating on the water. In Parker's story the jackal takes hold of the turtle's leg, but is tricked into letting it go and seizing instead a Keṭala (= Kekaṭiya?) root. At this point Pieris's story ends; but Parker's continues with a long account of the efforts of all the jackals to get revenge on all the turtles, and their final discomfiture. The trick with the Keṭala root occurs frequently in folk-tales³⁰ and is purely an addition to this story. As Parker justly remarks, his story should end here as does that of Pieris, and the long account of the war between the turtles and the jackals is purely local.

13. *SPARROW AND ELEPHANT*: Textus Simplicior I. 15; Pūrṇabhadra I. 18.

Folklore: Parker, *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon*, 2, p. 445, with a variant on p. 447.

Ceylon. Whether or not Pieris has mistranslated his animals' names can not be ascertained; but if his designations are correct, they show his story to be nearer some mainland version than Parker's. The two stories, however, are the same.

²⁹ The Buddhist stories—Jātaka, No. 215; Chavannes, *Cinq Cents Contes et Apologues*, 1, p. 404, and 2, p. 340 and p. 430; Julien, *Les Avadānas*, 1, p. 71—are not similar to this version, and exclude the possibility that this form is peculiarly Buddhist.

³⁰ Frere, *Old Deccan Days*, p. 279; Gordon, *Indian Folktales*, p. 67; Steel and Temple, *Wide-awake Stories*, p. 245; Parker, *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon*, 1, p. 381.

According to the literary types of the story, an elephant destroys the nest and eggs of a sparrow. The latter summons to her aid a bird with a sharp bill who plucks out the elephant's eyes, a fly that lays eggs in its eyesockets (or a bee that hums in its ears), and a frog that lures the thirsty elephant to a ditch into which it falls, eventually to die.

The oral story is a poor and confused representation of the literary tales. As given by Parker it goes thus. A lark lays her eggs on a path (cf. Dubois, *Pantcha-Tantra*, p. 85).³¹ An elephant steps on the eggs and breaks them to pieces.³² She gets promises of assistance from a frog, a crow, and a bee. The frog jumps into a deep ditch and croaks. The elephant goes there to drink, falls into the ditch, and cannot escape.³³ The crow pecks out its eyes, the bee beats (?) its head, and it dies. As can easily be seen, the order of incidents in the oral story is illogical. The logical order is that of the literary originals—the crow first blinds the elephant, then the gadfly³⁴ (instead of the bee) buzzes at its ear, and finally the frog deceives it, injured as it is and maddened by the gadfly. The popular tale seems to be a corruption of Jātaka 357 and some Tamil story similar to that translated by Dubois.

The variant mentioned by Parker agrees, as far as can be judged from the remarks he makes about it, with Jātaka 357, the order of attack by the animals apparently being correct.

14. *APE AND OFFICIOUS BIRD*: Textus Simplicior I. 18 and IV. 11; Pūrṇabhadra IV. 9; Hitopadeśa III. I.³⁵

³¹ In Jātaka 357 there is an introductory incident. A king elephant, the Bodhisattva, protects a quail and her offspring from 80,000 elephants. A rogue elephant, following the herd, destroys the quail's family, and is itself later destroyed by the quail and her allies.

³² In Parker's variant the nest with two young ones falls on the path. This variation seems to be purely local; for I have not seen it elsewhere.

³³ The ditch is found in all the older versions of Pañcatantra. In Dubois it is a well into which the elephant falls. According to the Jātaka the frog tricks it into stepping over the edge of a precipice.

³⁴ A blue-fly in Parker's variant.

³⁵ This story is not to be confused with Textus Simplicior I. 17, and Pūrṇabhadra I. 25, on *Unwelcome Advice*, which is similar to the *Ape and the Officious Bird* in some respects, but is by no means the same, as Hertel might lead the unwary to think in his *Das Pañcatantra*, pp. 41, 322.

Folklore: Dracott, *Simla Village Tales*, p. 2; Rouse, *Talking Thrush*, pp. 170 and 215; Parker, *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon*, 1, p. 247; and Taylor, *Indian Folk-Tales, Folk-Lore* 7, p. 88.

During a rain storm a bird sits unwet in her nest watching a monkey shiver. She twits him about his inability to build himself a house, altho equipped with hands like those of a man, while she has made herself a comfortable home with her bill. For these ill-advised remarks the monkey tears her nest to pieces.

Miss Dracott's tale may be descended from any one of the literary versions, for it has none of the details that distinguish any one version from the rest.

Rouse's story shows itself to be descended from the Hitopadeśa. It says that the bird's nest was built in a *semal* (silk-cotton) tree, the very tree (*śālmālī*) that is mentioned in the Hitopadeśa. All the other Pañcatantra versions that may have penetrated to this part of India either do not designate the kind of tree or call it a *śamī* tree. The Hitopadeśa does not specify the kind of bird, but Rouse's story makes it a crow. If the story were descended from Textus Simplicior or Pūrṇabhadra, it could not call the bird a crow, for in those texts the bird is named Sūcīmukha (Needle-mouth), and is said to have a hanging nest. This description would naturally suggest some sort of bird like an oriole, or weaverbird, or bottle bird.³⁶

Miss Taylor's story shows clearly that its source is the version of Textus Simplicior or Pūrṇabhadra, for it specifically mentions the bird as a bottle bird.

The Sinhalese story follows the story of Textus Simplicior up to the point where the bird's nest is destroyed. Then the bird (a weaverbird, *ploceus baya*) institutes proceedings against the

³⁶ The weaverbird or some bird that makes a similar nest is probably the bird about which this story is properly told. In the Siamese (Bastian in *Or. und Occ.* 3, p. 488), and in the Laotian (Bregues in *JA* 1908, p. 384), the bird is a weaverbird, probably suggested by Textus Simplicior, etc. In the Pāli texts it is called *siṅgila* (Jātaka 321, and Dhammapada Commentary, Norman's edition, 2, p. 22). This Konow (*JPTS* 1909, lexicon of Pāli-words beginning with S) translates etymologically 'a kind of horned bird.' Whatever the exact value of *siṅgila* may be linguistically, the bird itself seems, after looking at those other texts, to be a weaverbird, a bottle bird, or some other bird that weaves or sews its nest. If this bird is the one meant by the Pāli, the name *siṅgila* may refer to the tuft of feathers, in appearance perhaps suggesting a horn, which the male carries.

monkey, appealing to the king—monkey-king, Parker guesses. The monkey is about to be sentenced to punishment, when he directs the Mahārāja's attention to a Jāk fruit which he has brought as a bribe. He is dismissed, and the bird rebuked.

The original of this Sinhalese tale is a Tamil story translated by E. J. Robinson in his *Tales and Poems of South India*, p. 309, culled from what literary source is not stated, but probably from the Kathāmañjari or Kathācintāmaṇi. The bird is the 'hanging-nest bird' (weaverbird). After her nest is destroyed she goes to the judge of the country—we see now that Parker's guess of monkey-king is wrong. At first, as in the Sinhalese oral tale, he is favorably disposed to the bird; but when the monkey says, 'My Lord, you should look before and behind when speaking' (Parker, 'Then the Monkey said, "The action is coming to an end. Will the Mahārāja be pleased to look behind me?"'), the judge sees a Jāk fruit, and decides in favor of the monkey, administering to the bird a rather long rebuke, shortened in Parker.

15. *DUṢṬABUDDHI AND ABUDDHI*: All versions of Pañcatantra (Tantrākhyāyika I. 15, etc.).

Folklore: Pantalu, *Folklore of the Telugus* (3d ed.), p. 17 (*Indian Antiquary* 26, p. 55); Fleeson, *Laos Folklore of Farther India*, p. 108.

Two men, one honest and the other dishonest, bury their money under a tree. The dishonest man steals the money, accuses the honest (generally simpleminded) man of the crime, and calls upon the tree as a witness, having previously concealed his father there to play the part of the genius of the tree, and give testimony for him. The father is 'smoked out' and Duṣṭabuddhi's trickery is disclosed.

The chief literary versions of this story may be divided into two classes: (1) where the Judge smokes out the villain's father (Somadeva, *Kalīla wa Dimna*); and (2) where the honest man smokes out the villain's father (Tantrākhyāyika, Southern Pañcatantra, Textus Simplicior, Pūrṇabhadra, Jātaka 98, Śukasaptati 50).

Pantalu's story has the characteristics of the first class. The Syriac versions say that the two men found the money, the Kathāsaritsāgara that they obtained it by trading. The Telugu tale agrees in this point with the Kathāsaritsāgara. In the *Kalīla*

wa Dimna the honest man is a simpleton, corresponding to Abuddhi of Tantrākhyāyika, etc.; Somadeva calls him Dharma-buddhi. Pantalu's names for the two men are Durbuddhi and Subuddhi, which represent Somadeva's names better than they do the Semitic names. It also agrees with the Kathāsaritsāgara against the Kalīla wa Dimna in that the father dies, instead of escaping with punishment. The Telugu tale, therefore, is descended from that in the Kathāsaritsāgara, probably through some other literary collection that has taken the story into the Telugu country.

The Laos tale collected by Miss Fleeson belongs to the second class, but differs widely from any literary version I know. A widow has taught her son and nephew the art of roguery. The two boys divide their gains equally, but the woman is dissatisfied with the arrangement. She tells the boys to make an offering to a spirit in a hollow tree before making the division, and conceals herself there to play the part of the spirit. She instructs them to make the division thus: to the widow's son two parts, to the nephew one part. The nephew is enraged, and sets fire to the tree. Altho he recognizes his aunt's voice calling for mercy, he will not own it, and she is burnt up with the tree. I have seen no literary version in which the mother of one of the disputants hides in the tree, or in which it is the parent who plans to get more than the just share of the money for the son. The oral tale is a version, somewhat mangled in its handling by the folk, whose antecedent is probably contained in the literature of Laos or the adjacent country.

16. *CRANES AND MONGOOSE*: All Pañcatantra collections (Tantrākhyāyika I. 16, etc.).

Folklore: T. Steele, *Kusa Jātakaya*, p. 255.

The folk-tale goes thus. A family of cranes live in a tree. A cobra living in an ant-hill at the foot of the tree eats some of their eggs. To kill the cobra the cranes attract a mongoose there by strewing fish from his home to the ant-hill. The mongoose kills the snake, but also eats the young cranes.

In all the literary versions in which the mongoose eats the young of the cranes,³⁷ a crab advises the crane what stratagem

³⁷ In Somadeva's version and the Old Syriac the mongoose eats only the snake and its brood.

to employ, except in the Hitopadeśa, where another crane gives the advice. Altho the folk-tale gives us to understand that the cranes were the authors of the scheme, the fact that no literary version of the Hitopadeśa is found in either Tamil or Malayalam country makes it unlikely that it is the source of this oral tale. I do not know the story in Pāli literature, and I am therefore forced to conclude that it is derived from some version of the Pañcatantra. It does not occur in Dubois's *Pantcha-Tantra*, but it is found in other Tamil versions (*e. g.* Graul's, and Arden, *Tamil Reader*, II, p. 96), and one of these is probably responsible for the folk-tale. The oral story, which shows other evidences of poor tradition, has lost the incident of the crane's seeking advice, nor is mention made of the mongoose's killing the snake. The latter omission, however, is purely careless, due evidently to the story-teller's haste to arrive at the unexpected outcome of the crane's revenge, that is, the destruction of his own offspring whom he was endeavoring to preserve.

17. *IRON-EATING MICE*: All Pañcatantra versions (*Tantrākhyāyika* I. 17, etc.); also Jātaka 218; Śukasaptati Simplicior ३९, Kathāmañjarī (among the tales about Mariyathay-Raman), as given in F. J. Robinson's *Tales and Poems of South India*, p. 281.

Folklore: Ganeshji Jethabhai's *Indian Folklore*, p. 30; Knowles, *Dictionary of Kashmiri Proverbs*, p. 199; Upreti, *Proverbs and Folklore of Kumaun and Garhwal*, p. 403; an approximation in O'Connor, *Folk-Tales from Tibet*, p. 23; and Steele, *Kusa Jātakaya*, p. 250.

The story is constant in all these literary citations, the differences between the various versions being slight. A merchant goes on a journey, entrusting his iron balances to a friend. When he returns, the friend tells him that mice have eaten them up, and the wronged merchant pretends to believe this preposterous statement. He goes for a bath, and asks his friend to send his son to him with the bathing appurtenances. When the boy comes, he hides him, and tells the father that a hawk has carried him away. The dishonest man sees that he has been beaten at his own game, restores the weights, and gets back his son.

Jethabhai's story is as follows: A *bania* leaves *kankodi*, soap

and iron with a merchant to sell. When he returns for his money, the merchant says that worms have carried off the *kan-kodi*, the soap has rotted, and mice have eaten the iron. The *bania* kidnaps the merchant's daughter as soon as he gets a chance, and tells him that a kite has carried her away. The merchant complains to the Kazi. The *bania* then states his case, and as soon as he has obtained redress he restores the girl to her father.

This version of the story, which may itself be literary,³⁸ is an amplification of the tale as given in Śukasaptati Simplicior, for in no other version current in Western India does the offended party carry off the child without having it bring him bathing appurtenances. There have been added to the iron of the original fable *kankodi* and soap; and instead of a boy it is a girl that is kidnapped. No version of the Kalila wa Dimna can be the parent of this tale, because in none of them is there an appeal to the Kazi.

The story from Kashmir given by Knowles could be descended from any one of a number of literary versions, but Knowles himself gives its precise origin, saying, 'This proverb and story is evidently translated from a Persian work "Chihil Qissa" (i. e. forty stories), but it is very well known among the common folk of Kashmir.'

Upreti's tale corresponds with the outline of the literary texts given above, with the difference, however, that the wronged depositor carries off the child without having him bring bathing appurtenances. This is the way the story is told in the Śukasaptati (see above) and the Bombay text of the Bṛhatkathāmañjarī (see Hertel, *Tantrākhyāyika*, Einleitung, p. 134, note 1). The Śukasaptati, thru a vernacular version, is the more likely one of these two to be the source for the oral tale.

Among the rest of the occurrences of this motif, the nearest approach to the literary stories is the Tibetan tale of O'Connor. A man leaves a bag of gold-dust in the care of a friend. The friend changes it for sand, and says that it has turned to this. The dishonest man himself soon goes on a journey, and entrusts his son to the other man. The latter at once gets a monkey, and

³⁸ W. Crooke says that Jethabhai's work is a translation of a Gujarati school book (*Folk-Lore* 15, p. 368).

teaches it to say, 'Worthy father, I am turned into this.'³⁹ When the father asks for his son, he receives the monkey, being informed that his son has changed to this. The monkey verifies this claim by his own statement: 'Worthy father! I am turned into this.' An adjustment is then arranged. In the Sinhalese story of Steele it is a gold pumpkin which is alleged to have turned to brass. The trick with the monkey is used, but the monkey is not taught to say anything. These are the only two illustrations of this variation of the story of the 'Iron-eating Mice.' They are widely separated geographically, but it is significant that they both occur in Buddhist countries. The source of the story is probably to be found in the Buddhist literatures.⁴⁰

APPENDIX: BIBLIOGRAPHY OF INDIAN FOLK-TALES⁴¹

In compiling this bibliography of Indian folk-tales I have endeavored to make it as complete as my resources would allow. It contains all the titles I have succeeded in collecting of books

³⁹ In Nakhshibi's *Tutinameh* 3. 1 (Kadiri 3), a similar trick is used by a carpenter who has been cheated by a goldsmith. The carpenter trains two bear cubs to get their food from the sleeves of a long coat on a wooden image he has made which exactly resembles the goldsmith. At the proper time he takes away the goldsmith's boys and substitutes the bears. This same story is found in Wood's *In and Out of Chanda*, p. 48, where it is either a translation or a paraphrase of the *Tutinameh* story, probably as given in the Hindi *Totā Kahāni*.

⁴⁰ The motif of this story, one dishonest absurdity rebuked by another, is of frequent occurrence: Maho-adha Jātaka (546), text 13 (Cambridge translation 6, p. 167); Schiefner, *Tibetan Tales* (Ralston's translation), p. 140; Hertel, *Das Pañcatantra*, p. 145; Parker, *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon*, 1, p. 228, 2, p. 8; Knowles, *Folk-Tales of Kashmir*, p. 407; Knowles, *Dictionary of Kashmiri Proverbs*, p. 31; Swynnerton, *Romantic Tales from the Panjab with Indian Nights' Entertainment*, pp. 78, 311, 463; Hahn, *Blicke in Die Geisteswelt der heidnischen Völk*, story 17; Rouse, *Talking Thrush*, pp. 21 and 199; Ramaswami Raju, *Indian Fables*, p. 45; Bompas, *Folklore of the Santal Parganas*, p. 49; D'Penha in *Indian Antiquary* 23, p. 136; Haughton, *Sport and Folklore in the Himalaya*, p. 294; Upreti, *Proverbs and Folklore of Kumaun and Garhwal*, p. 189. For further literary references, see Hertel, *Tantrākhyāyika*, Einleitung, p. 132.

⁴¹ I call attention to the statement I made at the beginning of this paper to the effect that I use 'folk-tale' and 'folk story' as synonymous with 'oral' tale or story, that is, one reported orally from the folk; and I contrast these terms with 'literary' tale or story, that is, one existing in

devoted exclusively to Hindu folk-tales; books of description, travel, or ethnology that contain tales; books dealing primarily with other phases of Indian folk-lore, such as customs and proverbs, that include stories also; and such periodicals as publish in their pages from time to time Indian oral stories. On account of my limited facilities it cannot represent a complete survey of the types of books just enumerated; but I do not think that much important material is unaccounted for other than the stories in *The Orientalist*, vols. 3 and 4, and in *North Indian Notes and Queries*, neither of which I have been able to examine. There are included also some titles of books said to contain oral tales which I have not been able to verify. Any such title is accompanied by a remark to that effect.

To render the bibliography more serviceable I have made it critical, not contenting myself with mentioning author, title, publisher, and date and place of publication, but adding remarks as to the number and character of the stories under each reference. Where any of these items is lacking the reason is inability to secure the information, except as regards the number of stories. Silence on that point means that only one or two stories are to be found under the reference, unless I state specifically that I have been unable to inspect the book mentioned.

To the best of my knowledge this is the first bibliography of Indian folk-tales of any size or with any claims to even approximate completeness that has been published. I hope that it may prove of value to all those who are interested in Indian folk-tales either as a part of universal folklore or as a separate department of Indology.

ALWIS, C. Sinhalese Folklore. *Orientalist* 1, p. 62.

ANDERSON, J. D. A collection of Kachāri folk-tales and rhymes, intended to be a supplement to the Rev. S. Endlé's Kachāri grammar. Shillong. Assam Secretariat Printing Office. 1895. Sixteen stories.

ARACCI, A. K. Kathālañkāraya. A book containing fifty tales, mentioned by F. W. de Silva, who gives four specimens from it. *Orientalist* 2, p. 181. The title seems to imply that it is literary in character.

BACON, T. The Oriental Annual, containing a series of Tales, Legends, and Historical Romances; vol. 2. London, C. Tilt; and Philadelphia, Carey and Hart. 1840. Contains a few folk stories.

a professed work of literature. This distinction refers, of course, not to the substance of the story but to the sort of fiction, whether oral or literary, in which it appears.

BANERJI, K. N. *Popular Tales of Bengal*. Calcutta. Herald Printing Works. 1905. Fourteen stories, some good, others poor and interminably drawn out.

BARLOW. See M'NAIR and BARLOW.

BARNES, A. M. *The Red Miriok; with Shan Folklore Stories collected by W. C. Griggs*. Philadelphia. American Baptist Publication Society. 1903. *The Red Miriok* is an account of a child's life in Korea, and is of no interest to folk-lore students. The latter half of the volume is composed of nine stories from the Shans.

BEAMES, J. *Lake Legend of the Central Provinces*. *Indian Antiquary* 1, p. 190.

BENNETT, W. C. *A Legend of Balrampur*. *Indian Antiquary* 1, p. 143.

BODDING, O. See BOMPAS, C. H.

BOMPAS, C. H. *Folklore of the Santal Parganas*. Collected by the Rev. O. Boddington and translated by C. H. Bompas. London. D. Nutt. 1909. Contains 185 Santal stories, with an appendix in which are twenty-two stories from the Kolhan—including fables, fairy tales, and cosmological legends. This is one of the most valuable of the Indian collections.

BURGESS, J. *A Legend of Snake-worship from Bhaunagar in Kāthiāwād*. *Indian Antiquary* 1, p. 6.

A Legend of Kēlūr. *Indian Antiquary* 9, p. 80.

BUTTERWORTH, H. *Zigzag Journeys in India; or, The Antipodes of the Far East*. A collection of the Zenana tales. Boston. Estes and Lauriat. 1887. A book of travel containing scattered stories: ten tales collected by the author, pp. 16, 69, 122, 138, 157, 167, 172, 192, 219, 278; two stories from Frere's *Old Deccan Days*, pp. 89 and 199; and the frame story of the *Vikramacarita* as told by a 'Sanskrit scholar', p. 246.

CAMPBELL, A. *Santal Folk Tales*. Pokhuria, Bengal. Santal Mission Press. 1891. Contains twenty-three tales, of which a part are duplicated in the larger collection of Santal tales by C. H. Bompas.

CHILLI, SHAIK. *Folk-Tales of Hindustan*. Allahabad. Panini Office, 1st ed. 1908; 2d ed. 1913. Eleven stories, of which ten appeared in the *Modern Review*.

CHITTANAH, M. N. *Folk-tales of Central Provinces*. *Indian Antiquary* 35, p. 212. Only one story.

Version of the Legend of the Clever Builder. *Indian Antiquary* 40, p. 152.

CHRISTIAN, J. *Behar Proverbs, classified and arranged according to their subject matter, and translated into English with notes illustrating the Social Customs, Popular Superstitions, and Every-day Life of the People, and giving the Tales and Folklore on which they are founded*. London. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., 1891. Sixteen stories, pp. 3, 7, 8, 57, 62, 80, 104, 116, 120, 127, 130, 136, 137, 167, 170, 204.

CLOUGH, E. R. *While Sewing Sandals. Tales of a Telugu Pariah Tribe*. New York. F. H. Revell Co. 1899. Contains ten legends—cosmological, and hero and place—pp. 13, 49, 53, 57, 59, 71, 91, 97, 106, 118.

COCHRANE, W. W. See MILNE, Mrs. L., and COCHRANE, W. W.

COLE, F. T. *Santali Folklore*. *Indian Antiquary* 4, pp. 10, 257. Two stories.

COREA, A. E. R. Sinhalese Folklore. *Orientalist* 2, p. 102.

CROOKE, W. Folk-tales of Hindustan. *Indian Antiquary* 21, pp. 185, 277, 341; 22, pp. 21, 75, 289, 321; 23, p. 78; 24, p. 272. Eleven good stories.

An Indian Ghost Story. *Folklore* 13, p. 280.

A Version of the Guga Legend. *Indian Antiquary* 24, p. 49.

Folk-tales of Northern India. *Indian Antiquary* 35, pp. 142, 179.

Twenty-three good fables and fairy tales.

See also M'NAIR and BARLOW.

See also ROUSE, W. H. D.

DAMANT, G. H. Bengali Folklore. *Indian Antiquary* 1, pp. 115, 170, 218, 285, 344; 2, pp. 271, 357; 3, pp. 9, 320, 342; 4, pp. 54, 260; 6, p. 219; 9, p. 1. Twenty-two very good fables and fairy tales.

DAMES, M. L. Balochi Tales. *Folklore* 3, p. 517; 4, pp. 195, 285, 518; 8, p. 77. Twenty stories.

Popular Poetry of the Baloches. 2 vols. Vol. 1 translation; vol. 2 text; being vols. 9 and 10 of the Royal Asiatic Society's Monographs. London. 1907. Sixty-five legends of all sorts, some valuable, others inferior. The work is modeled on Temple's *Legends of the Panjab*.

DAVIDSON, J. Folklore of Chitral. *Indian Antiquary* 29, p. 246. Ten fables—with the text and interlinear translations.

DAY, L. B. Folk-Tales of Bengal. London. Macmillan & Co. 1st ed. 1883; 2d ed. 1912. Twenty-two stories, of which nineteen are fairy tales, one a fable, one about thieves, and one about the fruits of rashness.

DEVI, S. The Orient Pearls; Indian Folklore. London. Macmillan and Co. 1915. Twenty-eight good stories, including fables and fairy tales.

DONALD, D. Some Pushtu Folk-Tales. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, new series, 3, pp. 471-473.

D'PENHA, G. F. Folklore of Salsette. *Indian Antiquary* 16, p. 327; 17, pp. 13, 50, 104; 19, p. 314; 20, pp. 29, 80, 111, 142, 183, 192, 332; 21, pp. 23, 45, 312, 374; 22, pp. 53, 243, 276, 306; 23, p. 134; 26, p. 337; 27, pp. 54, 82, 304. Twenty-one stories from the native Christian community in the Salsette. They are all full of interesting material.

DRACOTT, A. E. Simla Village Tales, or Folk Tales from the Himalayas. London. John Murray. 1906. Fifty-seven valuable anecdotes, fables, and fairy tales, most of them from near Simla, the others from 'down country.'

DUBOIS, ABBÉ J. A. Moeurs, institutions et cérémonies des peuples de l'Inde. Paris. 1825. There are a number of stories in this work, most of them selected from the Pañcatantra, and included by the author in his book, *Le Pantha-Tantra*. One of the others has the following footnote attached to it (Beauchamp's edition of the later and complete text of the Abbé's work, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1897, vol. 2, p. 471, footnote): 'I have included this little story in the collection of Hindu fiction, because I found it in the same book from which I extracted the others.' This statement seems to show that those stories (Beauchamp's ed., 2, p. 456 ff.) are literary.

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ENDLE, S. *The Kachāris*. London. Macmillan and Co. 1911. Seven stories, pp. 55 ff. and 98 ff.

FLEESON, K. N. *Laos Folklore of Farther India*. New York. Fleming H. Revell Co. 1899. Forty-eight stories. This book is chiefly valuable as being our only representative from Laos.

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FRANCKE, A. H. *The Paladins of the Kesar-saga*. A collection of sagas from lower Ladakh. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, new series 2, pp. 467-490; 3, pp. 67, 261.

FRERE, M. *Old Deccan Days, or, Hindoo Fairy Legends, current in Southern India*. London, John Murray, 1st ed., 1868; 2d ed. 1870; 3d ed. 1881. Also Philadelphia. Lippincott. 1868. Twenty-four first-rate fables and fairy tales. This book was the pioneer in the field of Indian folklore.

Besides the Philadelphia edition, another edition of this book was printed in America: Albany, J. McDonough, 1897.

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GOONETILLEKE, S. J. *Sinhalese Folklore*. *Orientalist* 1, pp. 39, 136; 2, p. 150. Three stories.

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GRIERSON, G. A. Two versions of the Song of Gopi Chand. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 54, p. 35.

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GURDON, P. R. T. *The Khasis*. London. D. Nutt. 1907. Fifteen legends, pp. 160-187.

HAHN, F. *Kurukh Folklore in the Original*. Calcutta. Bengal Secretariat Book Depot. 1905.

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HAUGHTON, H. L. *Sport and Folklore in the Himalaya*. London. E. Arnold. 1913. About fifteen stories, pp. 8, 14, 101, 106, 112, 157, 178, 184, 192, 199, 205, 226, 235, 292, 303.

HAWKES, H. P. *An Indian Legend*. Madras Journal of Literature and Science 20, p. 274.

HODSON, T. C. *The Naga Tribes of Manipur*. London. Macmillan and Co. 1911. Five short stories, p. 192 ff.

HOUGHTON, B. Folk-tales. Indian Antiquary 22, pp. 78, 98, 284; 23, p. 26. Ten stories, one Lushai, one Arakan, eight Karen.

HOWELL, E. B. Border Ballads of the North-West Frontier. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1907, pp. 791-814.

HUTTON, J. H. Folk-tales of the Angāmi Nāgas of Assam. Folk-lore 25, p. 476; 26, p. 82. Twenty-eight stories, the sum of our tales from these people.

JACOBS, J. *Indian Fairy Tales*. London. D. Nutt. 1892. Twenty-nine stories, selected from various Indian folk-tale collections published before 1892, also from the Jātaka Book, the Pañcatantra, and the Kathā-saritsāgara.

JAMES, K. Sinhalese story in Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch, republished by J. P. Lewis. Orientalist 1, p. 190.

JETHABHAI, G. *Indian Folk-lore*. Limbdi. Jaswatsinhji Press. 1903. This small book, which Mr. W. Crooke says is a translation of a Gujerati school book (*Folk-lore* 15, p. 368), contains 94 fables and anecdotes. Some of these are interesting, but the collection as a whole is of little importance.

KINCAID, C. A. *Deccan Nursery Tales, or Fairy Tales from the South*. London. Macmillan and Co. 1914. Twenty tales permeated with religious fervor, a number of them, like some of D. N. Neogi's collection, told to spread the worship of certain divinities.

The Tale of the Tulsi Plant and other stories. Revised edition. Bombay. 1916. An unverified title.

KINGSCOTE, Mrs. H. and Paṇḍit NAṬESĀ SĀSTRĪ. *Tales of the Sun*. London. W. H. Allen. 1890. Twenty-six stories. Story 13 of this collection is the Alakesa Kathā, translated by Paṇḍit Naṭesā from an old Tamil Ms. and published by him under the title of *The King and his Four Ministers*, Madras, 1888; also included in W. A. Clouston's *Group of Eastern Romances and Stories* (p. 193). Glasgow. 1889. Of the rest of the stories all but two (Nos. 22 and 29) were published by Naṭesā Sāstri in the Indian Antiquary 13, 14, 16, 17, and 19; also in his *Folklore in Southern India*. (See under Naṭesā Sāstri.)

KNOWLES, J. H. *A Dictionary of Kashmiri Proverbs and Sayings*. Bombay, Education Society's Press; Calcutta, Thacker, Spink and Co.; London, Trübner and Co. 1885. Ninety-one fables, anecdotes, and legends illustrating proverbs. A story appears, on the average, about every third page.

Folk-Tales of Kashmir. London. Trübner and Co. 1st ed. 1888; 2d ed. 1893. Sixty-four anecdotes, fables, fairy tales, and hero legends, of which nine appeared in the Indian Antiquary 14, pp. 26, 239; 15, pp. 74, 96, 157, 299, 328; 16, pp. 66, 185, 219. This collection is extremely valuable. The stories are representative of their classes and generally good. Many parallels are given.

Kashmir Stories. *Orientalist* 1, pp. 260, 284.

KULASEKHARAM, R. *Tales of Raja Birbal*. Madras. G. A. Natesan and Co. No date, but in print at present. Twenty-four stories, of which some are good and others poor.

LANG, A. *The Olive Fairy Book*. London. Longmans, Green & Co. 1907. Ten of his stories, on pp. 64, 71, 103, 119, 144, 167, 188, 211, 234, 247, are from India, collected by Major Campbell, mostly from the Panjab.

LEITNER, C. W. *Dardu Legends*. *Indian Antiquary* 1, p. 84.

LEWIN, T. H. *Progressive Exercises in the Lushai Grammar*. Calcutta. 1891. One tale from this work is given by B. Houghton in *Indian Antiquary* 22, p. 78. I infer from Dr. Jacobs' remark on p. 232 of his *Indian Fairy Tales* that others are found there.

The Wild Races of South-eastern India. London. W. H. Allen and Co. 1870. Three legends and a fairy story, pp. 134, 140, 224, 238.

LEWIS, A. *Bilochi Stories*. Allahabad. 1885. An unverified title.

LEWIS, J. P. *Sinhalese Stories*. *Orientalist* 2, p. 149. Two stories.

MACAULIFFE, M. *Legend of Mirā Bāi, the Rajput Poetess*. *Indian Antiquary* 32, p. 329.

MACKENZIE, D. A. *Indian Fairy Stories*. London. Blackie. 1915. Twenty-three stories, assembled by the editor mostly from various literary or folk collections. Almost worthless to students of folklore, because no indication is given as to the source of the individual stories. Moreover, many of the stories are much changed by the editor in his retelling.

MAHESACHANDRADATTA. *Folklore in Bengal*. Calcutta. 1893. An unverified title.

MALYON, F. H. *Some current Pushtu folk stories*. *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, volume 3. Calcutta. 1913. Pp. 355-405. An unverified title.

MANWARING, A. *Marathi Proverbs*. Oxford. Clarendon Press. 1899. Contains 1910 proverbs, to twenty-six of which are attached short illustrative stories, pp. 13, 16, 17, 20, 33, 37, 42, 73, 86, 102, 104, 129, 136, 138, 161, 171, 179, 186, 194, 209, 210, 211, 217, 232, 239, 247.

MARTINENGO-CESARESCO, Countess E. *A story of the Koh-i-Nur*. *Folklore Journal* 4, p. 252.

MASSON, C. *Legends of the Afghan countries, in verse, with various pieces, original and translated*. London. J. Madden. 1848. An unverified title.

MAXWELL, G. *In Malay Forests*. London. Blackwood. 1907. Six stories, pp. 75, 229 ff.

MAXWELL, W. E. *Raja Donan, a Malay Fairy-tale*. *Folklore Journal* 6, p. 134, reprinted from the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Straits Branch*.

M'CULLOCH, W. *Bengali Household Tales*. London and New York. Hodder, Stoughton and Co. 1912. Twenty-eight tales of all kinds, intrinsically valuable, and accompanied by references to parallel stories in other Eastern collections, both oral and literary.

MILNE, Mrs. L. and COCHRANE, W. W. *The Shans at Home*. London. Murray. 1910. Twenty-six stories, mostly good, p. 222 ff.

M'NAIR, Maj. F. and BARLOW, T. L. *Folk-Tales from the Indus Valley*, edited by W. Crooke. Bombay. 1902. Eighteen short tales of considerable interest, first published in *Indian Antiquary* 29, pp. 356, 390, 399.

Oral Tradition from the Indus. Brighton. R. Gosden. 1908. A republication of the collection just mentioned.

MUKHARJI, R. S. *Indian Folk-lore*. Calcutta. Bharat Mihir Press, 25 Roy Bagan St. 1904. Twenty-one fables and fairy tales, most of them good.

MUKHOPADHYAYA, RAMA-SATYA. *Indian Folklore*. Calcutta. R. K. Dass. 1906. An unverified title.

NARASIMMIYENGAR, V. N. *The Legend of Rishya Śrīṅga*. *Indian Antiquary* 2, p. 140. The familiar story told by priests to enhance the sanctity of a shrine.

Legend relating to Grey Pumpkins. *Indian Antiquary* 3, p. 28.

NATESA SĀSTRĪ, Pandit S. M. *Folklore in Southern India*. *Indian Antiquary* 13, pp. 183, 226, 256, 262, 286; 14, pp. 77, 108, 134, 153; 15, p. 368; 16, pp. 31, 107, 139, 194, 214, 258, 293, 320; 17, pp. 202, 236, 259, 346; 18, pp. 87, 120, 348; 19, pp. 126, 275, 311; 20, pp. 78, 221, 315; 23, pp. 339, 385; 24, pp. 298, 356; 25, pp. 21, 312; 26, pp. 18, 80; 27, p. 165. Some of these tales were published as *Folklore in Southern India*, compiled and translated by Pandit Natesa Sāstrī. 4 parts. Bombay. Education Society's Press. 1884-1893. Twenty-four of them are found also in Kingscote's *Tales of the Sun* (q. v.). This collection contains altogether forty-five fables and fairy tales translated mostly from Tamil. The authenticity of many of them as oral tales, however, is doubtful on account of their evident literary style, while some are confessedly literary, as, for example, story No. 13 of *Tales of the Sun*, which is the *Alakesa Kathā* translated from a Tamil Ms. (see W. A. Clouston, *A Group of Eastern Romances and Stories*, introduction, p. xxix ff.).

Indian Folk-Tales. Madras. Guardian Press. 1908. Contains in book form the stories published by Natesa Sāstrī in the *Indian Antiquary*.

Tales of Tennali Raman, the famous Court Jester of Southern India. Twenty-one amusing stories. Madras. Natesan and Co. An unverified title.

NEOGI, D. N. *Tales, Sacred and Secular*. Calcutta. P. Mukhopadhyay and Sons, 46 Bechu Chatterji St. 1912. The first half of this book is made up of twenty folk stories, of which a number are told to inculcate the worship of certain divinities.

The Sacred Tales have also been published separately, I am informed.

NORTH INDIAN NOTES AND QUERIES. The pages of this periodical contain many folk stories, but I have not succeeded in securing access to it, and can therefore give no report concerning its contents, except to say that some stories published in its pages which were collected by W. Crooke have been republished by W. H. D. Rouse in *The Talking Thrush* (q. v.).

O'CONNOR, W. F. T. *Folk-Tales from Tibet*. London. Hurst and Blackett. 1907. Twenty-two fables and fairy tales.

ORIENTALIST. This periodical is in four volumes, but I have been able to see only the first two.

PANABOKKE, T. B. Sinhalese Folklore. *Orientalist* 2, p. 174. Two stories.

PANTALU, G. R. Subramiah. Notes on the Folklore of the Telugus. *Indian Antiquary* 26, pp. 25, 55, 109, 137, 167, 223, 252, 304; 28, p. 155; 32, p. 275. Forty-three fables, some of them very similar to literary prototypes.

Folklore of the Telugus. Madras. G. A. Natesan and Co., Esplanade. 1905. An edition in book form of the collection mentioned above. Now in third edition.

PARKER, H. Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon. 3 vols. London. Luzac and Co. 1910-1914. Contains 266 stories, many with variants. This monumental work is undoubtedly the best collection of Indian folk-tales we have. As a result of its publication the folklore of Ceylon is now more fully reported than that of any other district. Many parallels are given to other oral tales, also to the Kathāsaritsāgara, the Hitopadeśa, Dubois's Pantcha-Tantra, the Jātaka book, and Chavannes's Cinq Cents Contes et Apologues. Each of the three volumes has a good index.

Sinhalese Folklore. *Orientalist* 2, pp. 26, 53. Two stories republished in his large collection, vol. 1, pp. 204, 108.

PEDLOW, M. R. Folklore of Central Provinces. *Indian Antiquary* 28, p. 302.

PERERA, A. A. Sinhalese Folk-tales and Legends. *Indian Antiquary* 33, pp. 229, 232. Seventeen legends and stories.

PHILLIPS, J. L. Folklore of the Santals. *Orientalist* 1, p. 261; 2, p. 24. Three stories.

PIERIS, H. A. Sinhalese Folklore. *Orientalist* 1, pp. 134, 213. Two stories.

PLAYFAIR, A. L. The Garos. London. D. Nutt. 1909. Seven stories, pp. 118-146.

POSTANS, Mrs. M. Cutch. London. Smith, Elder, and Co. 1839. Nine stories, pp. 18, 79, 85, 104, 124, 155, 195, 197, 199.

RAMABAI (under initials R. D. M.). Four religious legends. *Indian Antiquary* 16, pp. 154, 261, 288, 291.

RAMASWAMI RAJU, P. V. Indian Fables. London. S. Sonnenschein and Co. 1st ed. 1887; 2d ed. 1901. Contains 106 fables. This work would be much more valuable if the collector had only told us where the stories were collected.

The Tales of the Sixty Mandarin. London and New York. Cassell and Co. No date but about 1886. Sixty stories gathered from many lands, of which eleven are from India, pp. 22, 26, 35, 39, 91, 97, 109, 128, 181, 203, 208. Some of these seem to be literary.

RAO, C. HAYAVADANA. Tales of Komati Wit and Wisdom. Madras. G. A. Natesan and Co. 1907. Twenty-four stories of which only about a half are good.

New Indian Tales. Madras. G. A. Natesan and Co. 1910. Nineteen stories, most of them good.

Tales of Mariada Raman. Madras. G. A. Natesan and Co. An unverified title.

The Son-in-Law Abroad and other Indian folk-tales. Madras. G. A. Natesan and Co. An unverified title.

ROSAIRO, A. de. Tamil Folklore. *Orientalist* 2, p. 183.

ROSE, H. A. Legends of Mohan Bari. *Indian Antiquary* 37, p. 110.

Mohiye ki Har, or Bar. *Indian Antiquary* 37, p. 299; 38, pp. 40, 69.

Ballad of the Haklās of Gujrat in the Panjab. *Indian Antiquary* 37, p. 209.

Legend of the Khan Khwas and Sher Shah, the Changalla (Mughal) at Delhi. *Indian Antiquary* 38, p. 113.

See also ELLIOTT and ROSE.

ROSE, H. A. and TEMPLE, R. C. See TEMPLE, R. C. Legends of the Panjab.

ROUSE, W. H. D. The Talking Thrush, and other tales from India, collected by W. Crooke and retold by W. H. D. Rouse. London. J. M. Dent and Co. 1st ed. 1899; 2d ed. 1902. Forty-three beast fables, all excellent specimens of their class. These stories first appeared in *North Indian Notes and Queries*.

ROY, S. C. The Mundas and their Country. Calcutta. City Book Co.; Thacker, Spink and Co. 1912. The appendix to this work contains two cosmogonical and historical legends of the Mundas.

SANKUNNI. Folklore in Malabar. Calicut. 1902. An unverified title.

SARMA, Pandit B. D. A Folktale from Kumaon. *Folklore* 8, p. 181.

SENANAYAKA, A. M. A Collection of Sinhalese Proverbs, Maxims, Fables, etc., found in the 'Atita-Vākya-Dīpaniya,' compiled and translated into English. Reviewed by H. White in the *Orientalist* 1, p. 236; and listed in *Folk-Lore Record* 4, p. 201. I know nothing more about this book, altho its title seems to show that the contents are literary, not oral.

SHAKESPEAR, J. Folk-Tales of the Lushais and their Neighbors. *Folk-Lore* 20, p. 388. Fourteen stories, mostly legends.

The Lushei Kuki Clans. London. Macmillan. 1912. Fourteen stories, pp. 92 ff., 176, 207.

SHIPP, J. The k'hauni kinch-walla. London. 1832. An unverified title.

SINHALESE FOLKLORE. Two unsigned stories under this title from the Literary Supplement to the Examiner. *Orientalist* 2, p. 147.

SIVASANKARAM, T. Telugu Folklore. *Indian Antiquary* 35, p. 31.

SKEAT, W. W. Malay Magic. New York and London. Macmillan and Co. 1900. Contains about fifty stories. See index under 'Legends.'

Fables and Folk-Tales from an Eastern Forest. Cambridge. University Press. 1901. Twenty-six stories, nearly all of them fables, mostly of high quality.

SMEATON, D. M. The Loyal Karens of Burmah. London. Kegan Paul, Trench, and Co. 1887. One story of a cheat, eight fables, and two legends, all good; pp. 90, 100, 117 ff., 173.

SRIKANTALIYAR, K. Folk-Tale about the Komattis. *Indian Antiquary* 21, p. 93.

STEEL, F. A. and TEMPLE, R. C. *Panjab Stories*. *Indian Antiquary* 9, pp. 205, 280, 302; 10, pp. 40, 80, 147, 228, 331, 347; 11, pp. 32, 73, 163, 226; 12, pp. 103, 175. Twenty-one good fables, fairy tales, and cumulative rimes.

Kashmir stories. *Indian Antiquary* 11, pp. 230, 259, 282, 319, 340. Nine stories.

Wide-awake Stories. Bombay, Education Society's Press; London, Trübner and Co. 1884. Forty-three fables, fairy tales, cumulative rimes, and legends, most of them taken from the two collections noted above and Temple's *Legends of the Panjab*. The peculiar value of this book lies in the Survey of Incidents at the end of it. This is a fairly good tabulation of the incidents in *Wide-awake Stories*, M. Stokes's *Indian Fairy Tales*, M. Frere's *Old Deccan Days*, L. B. Day's *Folk-Tales of Bengal*, R. C. Temple's *Legends of the Panjab* vol. 1, and G. H. Damant's 'Bengal Tales' published in the *Indian Antiquary*.

Tales of the Punjab. London and New York. Macmillan and Co. 1894. A second edition of the preceding work.

STEELE, T. *Kusa Jātakaya, a Buddhistic Legend*. London. Trübner and Co. 1871. The appendix contains fourteen Sinhalese folk-tales, most of them good, and some of them not duplicated in Parker's *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon*.

STOKES, M. *Indian Fairy Tales*. Calcutta. Privately printed. 1879. Second Edition, London. Ellis and White. 1880. Thirty first-rate fables and fairy tales.

SUNDARAM, T. M. *Tales of Raya and Appaji*. Madras. Natesan and Co. An unverified title.

SWYNNERTON, C. *Indian Nights' Entertainment*. London. E. Stock. 1892.

The Adventures of the Panjāb Hero Rājā Rasālu and other Folk-Tales of the Panjāb. Calcutta. W. Newman and Co. 1884. The stories of this collection are included in the following better known book.

Romantic Tales from the Panjāb. London. A. Constable and Co. 1903.

Romantic Tales from the Panjāb, with Indian Nights' Entertainment. London. A. Constable and Co. 1908. An edition in one volume of the preceding works. Ninety-seven anecdotes, fables, fairy tales, and heroic legends, well selected and well told. The version of the Rasālu legends is especially fine. Unfortunately no parallels are pointed out to any of the stories. A few of these stories appeared in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 52, p. 81, and four of the Rasālu legends in the *Folklore Journal* 1, p. 129.

TAGLIABUE, C. *Proverbi, detti e legende indostani*. Roma. Casa edit. It. (R. Inst. Or. in Napoli. Pubbl. sci. v. 4). 1899. An unverified title.

TALEYARKAN, D. A. *Legend of Vellur*. *Indian Antiquary* 2, p. 172.

TAW SEIN KO. *Burmese Folklore*. *Indian Antiquary* 18, p. 275; 19, p. 437; 22, p. 159. Three stories.

TAYLOR, S. M. *Indian Folk-tales*. *Folk-lore* 6, p. 399; 7, p. 83. Thirteen stories from Bhopal.

TEMPLE, R. C. Legends of the Panjab. 3 volumes. Bombay, Education Society's Press; London, Trübner and Co. Vol. 1, 1884; vol. 2, 1885; vol. 3, 1900. Fifty-nine heroic and religious legends, translated from Panjābi verse. A very important collection. Some of the stories, in an abbreviated form, were included in *Wide-awake Stories* (see under Steel and Temple).

See also STEEL and TEMPLE.

TEMPLE, R. C. and ROSE, H. A. Legends from Panjab. Indian Antiquary 35, p. 300; 37, p. 149; 38, pp. 81, 311; 39, p. 1. Four legends.

THORBURN, S. S. Bannū; or, Our Afghan Frontier. London. Trübner. 1876. About fifty stories, mostly fables, are included in this work.

THORNHILL, M. Indian Fairy Tales. London. Hatchard's. 1889. Twenty-six fairy stories and anecdotes.

UPRETI, G. D. Proverbs and Folklore of Kumaun and Garhwal. Lodi-ana. Lodi-ana Mission Press. 1894. Scattered thru this book are one hundred and twenty-five stories, chiefly fables, most of them valuable.

VANDYOPADHYAYA, Kasindranātha. Popular Tales of Bengal. Calcutta. Herald Printing Works. 1905. An unverified title.

VENKATASWAMI, M. N. Folk-tales of Central Provinces. Indian Antiquary 24, p. 244; 25, pp. 48, 109; 26, pp. 54, 104, 133, 165, 195, 280; 28, p. 193; 30, pp. 31, 110, 200; 31, p. 447; 32, p. 97. Twenty-three fables and fairy tales, most of them good.

Folklore from Dakshina Desa. Indian Antiquary 34, p. 210. Two stories.

Puli Raja, or the Tiger Prince (a South Indian story). Folk-lore 13, p. 79.

VENKETSWAMI. See VENKATASWAMI.

VISUVANATHAPILLAI, N. Tamil Folklore. Orientalist 2, p. 145.

WADDELL, L. A. Folklore in Tibet. Indian Antiquary 25, p. 105.

WADIA, P. T. H. Folklore in Western India. Indian Antiquary 14, p. 311; 15, pp. 2, 46, 171, 221, 365; 16, pp. 28, 188, 210, 322; 17, pp. 75, 128; 18, pp. 21, 146; 19, p. 152; 20, p. 107; 21, p. 160; 22, pp. 213, 315; 23, p. 160. Twenty stories, all full of familiar incidents, but many of them rather dull.

WATSON, J. W. Story of Rāni Pinglā. Indian Antiquary 2, p. 215.

Legend of the Rāni Tunk. Indian Antiquary 2, p. 339.

WILLISTON, T. P. Hindu Tales Retold. Chicago. Rand, McNally and Co. 1917. Retelling for school use of a number of stories that seem to have been taken from various collections of Indian folk-tales.

WOOD, A. In and Out of Chanda. Edinburgh. Foreign Mission Board. 1906. Part ii of this book consists of five tales, which are styled 'a valuable contribution to our knowledge of Indian folklore.' Four of them are paraphrases, if not direct translations, of stories in the Tutinamēh, probably through the Hindī Totā Kahāni. The other is a translation of the Vetālapañcaviṃśati story of Śaṅkacūḍa and Jīmūtavāhana, doubtless from a vernacular version.

A POSSIBLE RESTORATION FROM A MIDDLE PERSIAN
SOURCE OF THE ANSWER OF JESUS TO PILATE'S
INQUIRY 'WHAT IS TRUTH?'

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THE IMPORTANT DISCOVERIES of the Grünwedel-Le Coq expedition to Chinese Turkestan (*Handschriftenreste in Estrangeloschrift aus Turfan*, F. W. K. Müller, 1904) have restored the lost Manichaean literature. These Middle Persian remains brought rich material for philological study which has not been overrated in the many discussions in which their linguistic value has occupied chief place. Of deep historical interest are fragments of an apparently *urchristliche Ueberlieferung* from an Aramaic source of the Crucifixion (*dârôbadagêftig*) of Jesus (Tolman, *PAPA* 39. xlv ff.). They are not translations from the extra-Canonical Gospels, especially the Petrine Gospel, as Müller seems erroneously to infer. Although this tradition appears to touch at some points that preserved in the Gospel of the Pseudo-Peter, yet there is abundant evidence of its absolute independence. We note a striking absence of anachronisms which betray the apocryphal narratives; e. g. *pad 'êv Šambat*, 'on one of the Sabbath', i. e. 'on the first day of the week' (wrongly *an einem Sabbatstag*, Bartholomae, *Zum Air. Wb.* p. 88) corresponding to the Hebrew *בִּשְׁבַּת אֶחָד* in place of the apocryphal 'on the Lord's Day', Gospel of Peter, v. 35. Marked differences in phraseology from that of the tradition of the Canonical Gospels appear; e. g. *pad mûrgvâg sar*, 'at the beginning of the song of birds', describing the dawn of the day of Resurrection. Supplementary facts are recorded, e. g. the mention of Arsaniah among the women at the tomb, *qêrd Maryam Šalôm 'ût 'Arsani'âh*.

In Fragment M. 18 occur three significant words; *Râstêft Bagpûhar 'ast* which would naturally be rendered 'Truth is the Son of God'. Such a translation suggests that here may be preserved at least an echo of the reply made by Jesus to the familiar question of the Roman procurator, 'What is Truth?' The Manichaean tradition, like that of the Gospel of Peter.

seems to pervert the context of the immediately following declaration of Pilate respecting his innocence in the death of Jesus. The Petrine Gospel places it after the Crucifixion and the order of the Turfan fragment leads us to suppose that to the remembered words of Jesus the governor replied with the emphatic asseveration, *kû 'az vanûh 'aj 'im Baggûhar gôkhan (gôkhun, Müller) 'abêyâd 'ahêm*, 'I am indeed without part in the blood of this Son of God'. He then issues his command for strict secrecy: *qatriyônân vâ 'istratiyôtân 'aj Pilâtis framân 'ôh padgrift kû 'im râz 'andarz darêd*, 'as for the centurions and soldiers a command from Pilate was received for them to keep the order secret' (Tolman, *Studies in Philology*, 14. 4 ff.).

The tradition preserved in Mt. 27. 28 correctly places Pilate's repudiation of guilt at the time of the trial, during which, according to Jn. 18. 38, the Roman governor asks the memorable question and immediately proclaims that he finds no evidence of crime in the accused.

Let us briefly consider the word *râstêft* of the significant phrase previously quoted. The Anc. Pers. *râsta* occurs in NRa.59 *pañim tyâm râtûm mâ avarada*, 'leave not the true path'. The translation *bereit gemacht* given by Bartholomae (*Air. Wb.* 1526) who has later modified this view (*WZKM* 22. 88) is not now confirmed by the history of the word in the Middle Persian. The coincidence of Iranian *râsta* and *râšta* is preserved in the Turfan MSS readings *râstîy*, *râšt*, *vîrâst*, *vîrâšt*. Neither can we accept the interpretation 'right' as might be suggested by the New Pers. راست, *râst*, Ossetic *rast*, *rasth*, in which case the Turfan sentence would mean 'The Son of God is Rectitude'. That the fundamental signification of Anc. Pers. *râsta* is 'true' and that this meaning continued through the later period is clearly seen in the use of *râšt* in the Turfan remains, e. g. M. 33: *farah namâj 'ô marî Mânî kê 'im râz râšt vicêhâd (vicêhâd, Müller)*, 'glory, honor to Lord Mani, who will teach truly this secret.' In five places in the fragments of the recently published *Soghdische Texte* (Müller, 1913) it is interesting to compare the signification of *rêštâ*, 'truly', (for *ē* < *ā* cf. YAv. *tavah*, 'strength', New Pers. *tāv*, *tēv*; Middle Pers. *vācār*, 'market', Kurd. *bāzēr*). These are Mt. 10. 23; 21. 31; 25. 40: [*r*]ēštâ *framâyamsaq zû qû-šmâ*, 'truly I say to you'; Jn. 5. 25; 16. 23: *rêštâ rêštâ framâyamsaq*, 'truly, truly I say'. Moreover

rēštyâq 'truth' occurs in three places: Lk. 12. 44, *par rēštyâq*, 'in truth'; Lk. 16. 11, *rēštyâq qû-šmâx-šâ qê pêratqâ*, 'who will entrust to you the truth?'; Lk. 24. 34, *rēštyâq aḫašt*, 'in truth he is risen'.

The apparently adverbial use of *rēštyâq* in the last citation suggests the possibility of translating the Turfan phrase 'truly he is the Son of God'. This interpretation would show closer connection with the Petrine tradition which sets Pilate's protestation of innocence in answer to a similar confession provoked by the despair of the centurion's party. But the text before *rēštyâq* is mutilated and allows the supplement of a preposition making the phrase equivalent to *par rēštyâq*, 'in truth' of Lk. 12. 44. The complete reading we may restore as follows: [*par*] *rēštyâq aḫašt mâ[χû xēpaṭāvanṭā]*, 'in truth our Lord is risen'.

It seems probable that the Middle Pers. *râstêft* with no more certain evidence of its dependence on a preceding word is the subject of the phrase under discussion and forces Pilate to recall the answer of Jesus to his inquiry. The writer notes a parallel in the Fragments of the Manichaean Hymn Book (*Mahrnâmag*) published by Müller (*Abhandlungen d. kgl. Preuss. Akad. d. W.* 1912), 11. 309; 427:

'*Asêd vizidagân râstêft.*

Ascend ye chosen sons of Truth.

'*Avarêd vizidagân râstêft.*

Come ye chosen sons of Truth.

If *râstêft* is to be thus taken in the Turfan fragment we can readily suppose that the original reply took the form 'I am the Truth'. It is easy to understand how the substitution of *Bagpûhar* 'Son of God' for the personal pronoun would force its way into the later tradition.

BRIEF NOTES

The British General Staff Maps

Few recent aids to the orientalist equal in importance the new British General Staff Maps which have now reached Persia and are rapidly being extended eastward. Shortly before the Great War, the cartographers of the various civilized nations agreed to issue the sheets of a handy working map, to be published by the surveys of staffs of their respective governments, on the scale of one to the million. At the outbreak of the war, but few sheets had been issued and therefore the geographical section of the British General Staff decided to undertake the task alone. The work has been done in haste and the sheets are not free from error, but they fill a serious gap and will form the basis of a world series of the utmost value.

The professed orientalist may be discouraged at the first glance. The scale is nearly seventeen times smaller than the inch to the mile map of Palestine made by the Ordnance Survey and two and a half times smaller than the Kiepert's Kleinasien, but the new map is not intended to take the place of such. No attempt is made to list all place names, in fact, there has been deliberate exclusion with the purpose of keeping the map clear. The archaeologist will accordingly miss the majority of ruined sites in which lies his chief interest. He will also regret a general principle, which we hope will be modified in a later and definitive issue, of giving only the official nomenclature, for, especially in the so-called Turkish speaking regions, to give the official nomenclature is to give Turkish corruptions of earlier names which are, in the majority, better known by their native forms to English-speaking peoples.

To the general student, its superlative value will be found in its representation of relief. For the first time, much of the Near East is contoured. To a certain extent, contours, even in color, have been attempted several times for Palestine, and we should not forget the excellent little map of Asia Minor, in reality covering the whole of Kiepert's territory, by J. G. C. Anderson in the Murray series of classical maps edited by G. B. Grundy. The sheets are sold in two sets, one with the contours indicated

by the brown lines so familiar to us in the maps of our own Geological Survey, the other with the contours in colors and so much easier to understand quickly. Other natural features are given, as a rule, in minute detail and are the more easily grasped as they are not hidden by the mass of comparatively unimportant place names. The eastern sheets, notably the Tabriz and Baghdad ones, are full of new data, especially along the Turko-Persian frontier, delimited just before the outbreak of the war. As the series moves eastward and southward, this characteristic may be expected to increase in value.

Every orientalist who has wrestled with the problem of making oriental spelling as little repulsive as possible to the non-specialist and yet keeping as closely as may be to the correct transliteration, must protest vigorously against one backward step taken by the editors, who have made two letters grow where was one before by representing the well known sound, correctly represented by our j, as dj. Another sound, so we are told, found in Russian, is represented in the maps by j. and as to give j to the oriental j would cause confusion, orientalist seem doomed to be saddled with dj! Such procedure is contrary to the principles laid down by the British War Office and the Geographical Society, and seems to have been accepted largely if not entirely because of the usage of the British Museum.

The purpose of this notice would not be secured if it gave the impression of futility in map making. What we have is frankly a provisional edition, subject to change after the war. Under present circumstances, what we need most is not a complete repository of cartographical information for reference but a series of maps which at a glance shows what the general physiographic aspect of the country is and which can rapidly correlate history and geography, not the least the history and the political geography which are now in the making. For such a purpose, nothing can take the place of the General Staff maps.

A. T. OLMSTEAD

University of Illinois

NOTES OF THE SOCIETY

The Annual Meeting of the Society will be held on Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, April 23, 24, and 25, 1919, in Philadelphia, Pa. It is expected that one session, probably that of Thursday afternoon, will be devoted not to the presentation of miscellaneous communications, but to discussion in open forum of some topic of general interest. Another session will be devoted, as usual, to the presentation of papers dealing with the history of religions and of papers of wider interest. For the names of the Committee of Arrangements, see the inside front cover of the JOURNAL.

The Annual Meeting of the Middle West Branch of the Society will be held at the University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill., February 28-March 1. The program will include a symposium on Reconstruction Problems of the Orient.

Notice is hereby given that the following amendments to the Constitution and By-Laws of the American Oriental Society will be proposed by Franklin Edgerton at the 1919 annual meeting.

1. Amend Article IX of the Constitution by striking out the words 'said meeting to be held in Massachusetts at least once in three years', so that the Article as amended shall read:

ARTICLE IX. An Annual Meeting of the Society shall be held during Easter week, the days and place of the meeting to be determined by the Directors. One or more other meetings, at the discretion of the Directors, may also be held each year at such place and time as the Directors shall determine.

2. Amend Article I of By-Laws by striking out the words 'and it shall be his duty to keep, in a book provided for the purpose, a copy of his letters', so that the Article as amended shall read:

- * I. The Corresponding Secretary shall conduct the correspondence of the Society; and he shall notify the meetings in such manner as the President or the Board of Directors shall direct.

Motions to be presented to the American Oriental Society at its next meeting by Charles R. Lanman.

Resolved: That the proper repository of the manuscript books-of-record of the Society is the Society's Library.

That a notice to this effect be printed in the JOURNAL and made a part of our bylaws.

And that the Officers of the Society be requested to deposit such volumes of record in the Library as soon as they are filled and have to be replaced by new blank-books for current use.

Within the last few decades, the number of communications offered for presentation at meetings of the American Oriental Society has increased from half-a-dozen or less to half-a-hundred or more. It has manifestly become neither feasible nor desirable to bring before the Society in fifty brief allotted periods of twenty minutes each or less, fifty masses of technical details. To accomplish so bad an end, it has been suggested that the Society be split into separate Semitic and Indo-European sections. It is far more important that a generous and sympathetic interest on the part of each element of the Society in the work of the other should be maintained and quickened.

Not only the teachings of modern psychology, but also those of every-day experience, show that the very act of reading (except in the case of very unusually stirring matter and of rarely gifted readers) is distinctly and incontestably a hypnotizing process. The reading of such details, with references to book and chapter and verse, and to volume and page of other writings by the reader on related subjects, may perhaps be called successful as a futile display of praiseworthy erudition; but the impression left on the hearer is not an inspiring one. It is often little else than that of transparently vainglorious display. Such performances, the Society ought, for the good of all,—hearers and readers alike,—positively to discourage.

With the revolving years, it has come to pass that no scholar has even the right to spend his time and his learning upon matters which have not some relation—direct or indirect—to the spiritual progress of mankind. It is not only his privilege, but also his duty, to tell in comprehensible language what that relation is, what he is trying to do, and why he is trying to do it. *This* it is which will interest and stimulate, quicken and inspire. And such inspiration, the delight and encouraging sympathy that come from direct personal intercourse with men who are brothers in the spirit, should be the dominant objects of our meetings. They ought never to be lost out of sight.

Therefore, be it resolved by the American Oriental Society: That, in arranging its program for future meetings, the Society considers that (except in the case of an occasional formal address) the normal method of laying Oriental topics before the assembly, be—not the reading of a prepared manuscript, but—a free oral presentation of the matter in a form which can be readily and easily comprehended by all who are present. And that, in cases where a member is unwilling to attempt this method, it shall be permissible to read from manuscript, but not for a time exceeding five minutes.

NOTES OF OTHER SOCIETIES, ETC.

The American Philological Association, the Archaeological Institute of America and the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis held their annual meetings at Columbia University on December 26-28. The annual conference of Biblical Instructors in American Colleges and Secondary Schools was held at the same time. The institutions were hospitably entertained by Columbia University and President Butler. Of general interest was the joint session in the evening of the 27th when Prof. Howard Crosby Butler made an address on 'The Future Protection of the Historical Monuments of Nearer Asia.'

The officers of the previous year were in general continued. Prof. Mitchell Carroll was made Curator of the Washington offices, and Prof. G. M. Whicher General Secretary.

An interesting event in the program of the Society of Biblical Literature was a Symposium on Critical Method in the Study of the Old Testament. This was participated in by Prof. G. A. Barton with a 'Survey of the Results and Present Status of Critical Study'; Prof. K. Fullerton, on 'The Method and Scope of Documentary Analysis and Textual Criticism'; Prof. C. C. Torrey, on 'The Use of the Versions'; Prof. A. T. Olmstead, on 'Critical Method and the Utilization of Historical Data'; Prof. J. Morgenstern, on 'Critical Method and the Use of Archaeological Data.' The officers elected for the ensuing year are: Prof. E. J. Goodspeed, president; Prof. A. T. Clay, vice-president; Prof. H. J. Cadbury, recording secretary; Prof. M. L. Margolis, corresponding secretary; Prof. G. Dahl, treasurer.

The Managing Committee of the School of Oriental Research at Jerusalem met in connection with the above gatherings. It reflected the present Executive Committee of the School, which took action on some important matters looking forward to the early opening of the School. Prof. W. H. Worrell of Hartford Seminary was elected Director. The Committee on the Babylonian School of Archaeology having elected Prof. A. T. Clay of Yale University as its first Annual Professor, Dr. Clay was appointed a member of the faculty of the School in Jeru-

salem. A Fellow will also probably be commissioned for this year. It is hoped that these gentlemen will be able to go to their posts in the coming year. Immediate steps are being taken to raise funds for placing the Jerusalem School on an adequate financial basis and to utilize the gift of Mrs. J. B. Nies for the erection of a building. The Archaeological Institute appropriated \$1,000 for a fellowship and \$500 for the Babylonian School of Archaeology. The School asks for the hearty coöperation of all interested in Oriental study. Communications should be addressed to Prof. J. A. Montgomery, chairman, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, or Prof. G. A. Barton, secretary and treasurer, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa.

The following identical action has been taken by the National Institute of Arts and Letters, the Archaeological Institute of America, the American Philological Association, and this Society (acting through its Board of Directors):

Resolved: That it is urgently necessary that immediate steps should be taken to organize the control and protection of the historic monuments and objects of art of all periods in those parts of Nearer Asia which as the result of the war have come under the influence of the Associated Powers, and that the opportunity offered by the Peace Conference should be seized upon to put an end to the systematic neglect and destruction of historic monuments, to the commercialization of antiquities, and to the obstruction of legitimate scientific exploration and excavation, which have hitherto prevailed in countries under Turkish rule, and

That advantage of the present opportunity should be taken to call to the attention of the American representatives at the Peace Conference the importance of safeguarding American scientific interests in exploration and excavation, and the legitimate rights of American Museums.

The Council of the Archaeological Institute voted to ask Mr. William H. Buckler to act as its representative in calling the attention of the American Peace Commissioners to the matter of preserving the historical monuments in the Nearer East.

PERSONALIA

PROF. JULIUS WELLHAUSEN, of the University of Göttingen, an Honorary Member of this Society, died January 7, 1918.

The death is announced of the REV. PÈRE JOSEPH GERMER-DURAND, of the Assumptionist Monastery, Jerusalem. A noted authority on Palestinian archaeology, his latest work was the excavation of the Assumptionist grounds on the Zion Hill.

DR. W. F. ALBRIGHT, of John Hopkins University, has been appointed Fellow at the School in Jerusalem for 1919-20.

SPECIAL NOTICE TO CONTRIBUTORS

Owing to the greatly increased cost of publication, the Editors feel compelled to economize in every way possible. Believing that contributors do not always need or desire as many Reprints as it is customary to allow, they have decided that hereafter Reprints will be furnished only upon definite request from the author in advance. Fifty Reprints of articles are allowed, but in many cases authors may not desire so many copies. (For Brief Notes a smaller number of copies is allowed.) Accordingly hereafter Reprints will be furnished only upon previous notice as to number required.

SOME CRUCES IN THE LANGDON EPIC.

W. F. ALBRIGHT

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

I

SINCE LANGDON'S PUBLICATION of the *Sumerian Epic of Paradise, the Flood, and the Fall of Man* in 1915, a very remarkable divergency of opinion in regard to its interpretation has arisen. Even the translations disagree to an extent which would have delighted the heart of Von Gutschmidt, the harsh censor of young Assyriology. There is, however, no excuse for discouragement; thanks to the efforts of a few scholars much has been accomplished already.¹ In dealing with a loosely-jointed, composite production of a mythological nature, the best method of solution is philological, liberally assisted by comparative mythological data and analogies. To Jastrow's position of vantage in this field is largely due his success in elucidating difficult passages (e. g. obv. II, 20-32), and in comprehending the text as a whole. To Langdon's learning and experience in Sumeriology we surely owe enough; his moreover is the honor of having discovered and first translated the poem. Let us hope that *AJSL*² 33. 245 is not meant to exclude the right of the κυνάρια, ἐσθίειν ἀπὸ

¹ For the bibliography see Barton, *AJTh* 21. 576, n. 2, and, in addition to the papers there listed, note: Scheil, *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, 1915, 526-537; Fossey, *Revue Critique*, 1917, 273-276; Langdon, *ET* 29. 218-221 (Feb. 1918).

² Note the following abbreviations: *AJSL* = *American Journal of Semitic Languages*; *AJTh* = *American Journal of Theology*; *ASKT* = Haupt, *Akkadische und Sumerische Keilschrifttexte*; *BA* = *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*; *CT* = *Cuneiform Texts*; *ET* = *Expository Times*; *HGT* = Poebel, *Historical and Grammatical Texts*; *HW* = Delitzsch, *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch*; *JAOS* = *Journal of the American Oriental Society*; *JBL* = *Journal of Biblical Literature*; *KB* = *Keilschriftliche Bibliothek*; *MVAG* = *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*; *OLZ* = *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*; *RT* = *Recueil de Travaux*; *SBP* = Langdon, *Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms*; *SEP* = Langdon, *Sumerian Epic of Paradise*, etc.; *SG* = Delitzsch, *Sumerische Grammatik*; *SGL* = Delitzsch, *Sumerisches Glossar*; *SLT* = Langdon, *Sumerian Liturgical Texts*; *VB* = *Vorderasiatische Bibliothek*; *ZA* = *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*.

τῶν ψυχίων τῶν πιπτόντων ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης, or to make a few independent contributions.

In general I am in accord with Jastrow's views of the character of our text, which evidently describes the return of life and fertility to the world at the beginning of our age.³ The central motive, about which the various myths revolve, is the divine gift of the inundation, a matter of fundamental importance in an alluvial country where the rainfall is so unsatisfactory as in Babylonia—averaging now about eight or nine inches a year at Baghdad, while the summer is quite rainless. Jastrow, Prince, and Barton are almost certainly correct in opposing Langdon's view that Tilmun is represented in the poem as the seat of paradise; it is, however, unmistakably regarded as the original home of the race.⁴

³ The Sumerians unquestionably had developed a theory of world ages, the prototype of the Indian *yuga* system. The starting point of the conception was probably the effort to harmonize conflicting cosmogonies, a difficulty bound to become serious in a country where every important city had in early times its own pantheon and liturgy. As I expect to treat the matter in a special paper, I will refer here only to the beginning of the fragmentary text discovered and edited by Poebel (*HGT* no. 1). Col. I, 2 ff. reads: *nam-lù-gàl-mu ga-lam-ma-bi-a ga-ba-n[i-ib-gí-gí,] dNin-tu-ra níg-dim-dim-ma-mu sig[-sig-ga-bi-a(?) ga-ba-ni-ib-gí-gí, uku ki-ur-bi-ta ga-ba-ni-ib-gur-ru-dè, uru ki-me-a-bi gé-im-mi-in-dá, gissu (SGL 278)-bi ní-ga-ba-ab-dub-bu* = 'My mankind on its destruction I will [restore]; for (the sake of) Nintu my creation [after its over]throw(?) I will restore; I will restore the people to its settlements; let it build cities wherever their sites may be; its (or their) tabu (or the like) I will remove.' The rendering of the last line is somewhat subject to doubt; *ní-dub* means 'rest, and 'cause to rest, annul' (*kuppuru*; the original meaning may have been 'strike with fear, make motionless'—contrast *SGL* 144). *Gissu*, 'shadow' (*GIŠ-GÊ = šillu*), can hardly mean 'protection,' the usual metaphoric sense of the word, but rather means 'place under protection, whose violation is prohibited.' Frank is probably right (*Religion*, p. 108) in explaining *AN-ZIL-LU*, synonym of *ikkibu*, 'tabu' (a loan from Sum. (*ní-gig* > *iggib*) as *šçillu*, 'the divine shadow,' though *andullu*, 'shadow, protection,' which resembles it superficially in form, cannot be so explained; for the meaning cf. the Jastrow fragment of the Etana myth, rev. 9, *šçilla ša ilāni ašakku tākul* = 'thou didst incur the guilt of transgression against the gods' (for the idiom note *qarcē akālu*, 'slander,' and *ikkiba akālu*, 'transgress'), where we find the *šçillu* glossed as 'the *ašakku* demon.'—The 'restoration' in the Poebel text involves a previous extinction, complete or partial; cf. Barton *AJTh* 21. 575 f. (whose translation of 1. 5 f. is grammatically impossible).

⁴ See my article, *The Mouth of the Rivers*, to appear in *AJSL*.

In this paper the following passages will be discussed in full: obv. II, 1-19; III, 9 ff. = 29 ff.; rev. II. Other passages will be touched on incidentally.

II

The first six lines of the second column contain an address of the goddess Ninella to her father and husband Enki, begging him to create the fecundating water, as her woman's heart longs for offspring. Lines 7-8 are apparently the joyful exclamation of a third person, who corresponds roughly to the Greek chorus, inserted in order to guide the mood of the audience and check interruption. In 9-11 Enki replies favorably to his daughter's request, and in 13-19 the consummation is described. The rest of the column gives a somewhat different version, emphasizing, as Jastrow has shown, the sexual aspect of the inundation. The same idea certainly lay behind our episode as well. The cuneiform text reads as follows:

- gìr⁵-ma-an-gal-la-za a ġé-im-ta-è-dè⁶*
uru-zu a-ġé-gál-la ġu-mu-ra-nag-nag
Tilmun^{ki} a-ġé-gál-la etc.
dul a-šeš-a-zu dul a-dúg-ga ġé-im etc.
5. *uru-zu ê-gú-kar-ra kalam-ma-ka ġé-a*
Tilmun^{ki} ê etc.
ì-ne-šù ^dBabbar uđ-dè-a
^dBabbar an-na gub-bi-e
gìr-du a-dù-EZEN-ki-na-ta
10. *ê-suġur-si⁷ ^dNanna-a-ta*
ka-a-ki-a-lāġ-ta a-dúg-ki-ta mu-na-ra-gina
gìr-ma-an-gal-la-na a im-ta-è-dè
uru-ni a-ġé-gál-la im-ta-nag-nag
Tilmun^{ki} a-ġé etc.
15. *dul a-šeš-a-ni a-dúg-ga na-nam*

* * *

⁵ The orthographic accents in the article are, so far as practicable, those of Delitzsch, who is, however, as niggardly in this respect as Langdon is prodigal.

⁶ *Dè* is not a particle, but part of the verb *è-dè*, which may, as has been suggested, be connected with *u-dè*—hardly identical, in view of the fact that *u-dè* (SGI 45) is spelled *uđ-dè* in l. 7.

⁷ So read now instead of *e* by all scholars; for *ê* see below.

19. *ì-ne-šù^d Babbar ud-dè-a ur (ĜAR)-ġé-na-nam-ma =*

“‘From thy great twin sources (?) may the water come forth;

May thy city drink water in abundance;

May Tilmun (drink) water in abundance;

May thy well of brackish^a water be a well of sweet water;

5. May thy city be a house in which the land (i. e. people) is gathered;

May Tilmun be a house (in which the land is gathered).”

“Now, O sun,⁹ arise!

O sun, take thy place in heaven!”

“From the place where the waters flow forth from their womb,

From the full store-house of the moon-god,

From the flowing springs of the earth, from the place of sweet water it shall come forth for thee.”

From his great twin sources (?) the water came forth;

His city drank water in abundance;

Tilmun drank water in abundance;

His well of brackish water became indeed sweet water.

* * *

“Now, O sun, shine forth!”—Verily it was so.”

The word *girman* is otherwise unknown, and Langdon leaves it, therefor, untranslated. Of the other suggestions one alone is to be seriously considered, Jastrow's ‘reservoir,’ which suits the context admirably. My suggestion is based upon an article to appear soon, entitled *The Mouth of the Rivers*, in which it is shown that *id-ka-min-na* means ‘source of the two rivers,’ instead

^a This is the most accurate translation of *a-šeš*. The contrast between *a-šeš* and *a-dúg* is paralleled in Mandaean literature by מֵאָרְכִימָא and מֵאָרְכִימָא.

⁹ The vernal sun is to set the appointed season for the arrival of the inundation, just as the daily revolution of the sun sets the time for the approach of the hurricane in the Deluge-poem, 1. 87: *adāna šamaš iškunā-ma*, ‘the sun set the appointed time.’ As Haupt has emphasized, *šamaš* is not a *deus ex machina*, but merely the heavenly orb. Barton's view that the sun is to bring the water is unparalleled, and syntactically out of the question; cf. 1. 19. The sun is mentioned after the inundation simply because it is required then to bring quick maturity to the crops; note the scenes representing fertilization of the date palm, where the two genii hold the winged solar disc over the tree with cords.

of 'mouth (*ostium*) of the two rivers.' *Girman* will be a form like *sagman*, 'twins,' lit. 'two head,' a compound from *kir* (*KA*), 'mouth' (*SGL* 119)¹⁰ and *man*, 'two' (*min*, *mun*; see below); for *gir* and *kir* cf. *gir* and *kir* = *nagarruru*, 'run,' and *gir* and *kir* = *qarâçu*, 'gnaw, break off' (*SGL* 92. 119). The interchange of surds and sonants is very common in Sumerian, although it is by no means free from the operation of the usual phonetic laws. The two mouths are the sources of the two rivers, for which the Babylonians, naturally enough, felt a superstitious reverence.

Line 9 is unquestionably difficult, but it is not so desperate as Barton thinks (*AJTh* 21. 580, n. 1); our rendering is based on a happy idea of his which he failed to follow up. As he suggested, *EZEN* is here probably equivalent to *kirimmu*, 'womb,' despite the fact that in his *Babylonian Writing*, 2. 91, 'womb' is included among the values belonging to the sign *SAR*. However, *kirimmu* must evidently be referred to *EZEN*, with the pronunciations *šer* and *keš(da)*, 'bind, enclose,' as the usual Sum. equivalent of *kirimmu* is *liru*, meaning properly 'enclosure' (*umâšu*, *abâru*). *Kirimmu* itself may be derived from the stem *kamâru-karâmu*, 'cover, overwhelm'; cf. mod. Arab. *kâmara*, 'cover,' and Assyr. *nakrimânu*, 'leather bag,' etc. The phrase *dû-EZEN* is difficult to separate from *liru-dû* (*pašâru ša kirimmi*), which, though used *ASKT* 84, 41, pathologically, of rupture of the uterus (*Haupt*), was presumably also employed like Heb. פֶּטֶר רֶחֶם of the first opening of the womb. The *a-dû-EZEN* are to be understood in the light of such conceptions as the *Kinderbrunnen* in the lap of mother earth, the source of infants in folklore (*Dieterich, Mutter Erde*², pp. 18 ff., 125 f.). The mouth from which a river emerges may be regarded as the vulva or *Muttermund* of the earth.¹¹ This idea and its converse, that

¹⁰ For *kir*, 'mouth, hole,' note also *CT* 18. 34c, 34-5, *KA(kir)-AG-A* = *parâçu*, 'split' (فرض; *furda* = 'mouth of a river'), and *KA-GAR(kirgur)* - (*AG-A*) = *parâçu ša pilaqqi*, 'split, said of a double-ax'; *kirgur-kid(AG)da* also = *qardu* (*SGL* 115), perhaps (the equations are often loose) 'wielder of the battle-ax,' as 'warrior, hero.'

¹¹ For *ka* and *pû* as 'river-source' see my article on the *Mouth of the Rivers*; for *pû*, 'vulva,' see *CT* 12. 36. 1 ff., where *SAL + LAGAR*, with the pronunciation *murub* (lit. 'middle') = *pûm*, also the equivalent of *KA* and *TE + UNU*. Since the same ideogram is rendered also by *hiçbu* and *urû*, both names of the *puendum muliebre*, there can be no possible doubt that *pû* has that meaning; cf. also Heb. פֹּת (פֶּת) 'vulva,' for **pātu*, a feminine formation from *pû*.

the female vagina is a well or fountain, are found everywhere, and may be traced back to the beginnings of language. Thus we have *naqbu*, 'source,' and Heb. *negebá*, 'female'; Heb. נֶאֱרָב and בֹּר, 'well,' applied to 'mistress' or 'wife' (Cant. 4. 12, 15; Ecc. 12. 1), while the cognate *bī* is employed in Egyptian for 'vagina' (also 'shaft of mine,' etc.; the etymology is due to Ember); Sum. *buru*, 'river, river-head,' and 'vagina'; Sk. *jarta*, 'vulva,' Goth. *kilþei*, 'womb,' connected with *Quelle*, etc. Some examples in this category may, of course, have arisen through the accidents of semasiological development; cf. also on the conception the remarks of Eisler, *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt*, 2. 380, to be taken *cum grano salis*. *Nidda Ierûš.* 51 b says, commenting on Pr. 5: 18, יְהִי מְקוֹר בְּרוּךְ, 'ה' נְדָה מִן הַמְּקוֹר, 'the menstrual blood comes from the fountain.' In view of line 10. where the water is further drawn from the storehouse (see below) of the moon-god, it is very tempting to see in our passage an allusion to a primitive theory, or rather fancy, seeing in the water of the rivers the menstrual flow from the lap of the earth-mother, which occurred with every new moon (see below). While the idea may seem grotesque to us, it is superior to the Egyptian fancy that the Nile was the semen produced by the continuous onanism of Osiris, a gross notion later softened to the more obscure but more decent formula that the river was the efflux of the god's body (see my article 'Gilgames and Engidu,' to appear in *JAOS*). The standard conception in both lands was, of course, that the river was the semen of the god of fertility, Osiris or Enki, etc., fecundating the earth-mother, a process described most vividly in our text, as Jastrow has demonstrated, the coitus being circumstantially depicted, and gestation lasting for nine months, as the poet makes perfectly clear, thanks to his monthly bulletin. No student of the popular mind will be worried by the incompatibility of these different notions, as the most antipodal ideas often occur side by side in the same myth.—The syntax of our line is complex, but sound; it would be literally translated by 'foot-moving the water which opens the womb place its from.' For the construction cf. *SG* §§38e and 208; *na* is the retrospective pronoun, sometimes used to indicate a genitive chain, though Delitzsch's principal illustration, *id-ka-a-na-ta*, must be read *id-ka-min-na-ta*, the *na* being simply phonetic complement.

Following my suggestion that we might read *ê-suġur* in line 10, Professor Jastrow kindly collated the text, and reached the

conclusion that this is the correct reading. *Ê-suġur* is given CT 12. 41, col. II, 27/8 as synonym of *ê-šà-ġé-dagal-[la]*, literally, 'house in which there is abundance,' i. e., 'store-house' (cf. *SGL* 254), both with the Semitic equivalent *šahuru*, evidently a loan from Sum. *saġur*, 'pot, amphora,' given in line 25 of the same vocabulary; *ê-suġur* should be correctly *ê-saġur*, an expression precisely like *ê-gur* = *bît karê*, 'granary,' lit. 'house of grain-jars'; *šahuru* would be a subauditional term like *karû*, which may mean 'granary' by itself. An etymology from *suġur*, 'crown of a palm, beard, barbel,' etc. is clearly out of the question.¹²

The conception that the waters are confined in store-houses is found sporadically all over the Orient, but under the influence of Babylonian thought it became part of the stock in trade of Rabbinic and Syriac cosmography. We first find it in Ps. 33. 7, כִּי־סָגַר מִי הַיָּם נֶתַן בַּאֲצֻרֹת תְּהוֹמוֹת (sic) = 'He who gathers the waters of the sea as in a skin-bottle, who puts the subterranean (fresh) waters in store-houses.' In Enoch, 18. 1; 34-36; 41. 4; 60. 11-12, etc., the chambers or store-houses of all the elements are elaborately described, especially those of the

¹² The primary meaning of *suġur* is foliage of a tree, crown of a palm,' Akk. *qimmat iġgi* (especially of the tamarisk, *binu*, and the palm, *gišim-maru*). The earliest certain forms of the sign *suġur* (Barton, *BA* 9. 1. 95) almost certainly depict the crown of a palm (pace Barton, in the second part), as will be evident from the comparison of the stereotyped Assyrian pictures of palms; cf., e. g., Von Luschan, *Die ionische Säule*, pp. 22-26.

Qimmatu, 'crown of foliage,' is Ar. قِمَّة, 'summit,' and must be separated from *kimmatu*, 'enclosure,' belonging with كَم, 'envelope.' *SGL* 253 *suġ(ur)-suġ(ur)* is given the values *šummuṭu* (Ar. شَمَط, privative, 'deprive of foliage'), *qamāmu* (قَم, 'sweep off, devour,' also privative), *itkulu*, 'devour,' and *nuq(q)urum*, 'destroy,' values which explain the development of *suġ* = *šubbû*, *nasāhu*, 'tear out, destroy' (similarly شَمَط means 'tear out a plant' in modern Arabic). *Suġur-sû-lâl* = *ziġnatu*, 'beard,' is lit. 'foliage hanging from the lip.' Holma has shown (*Kleine Beiträge*, p. 32) that the *suġur*-fish is the bearded carp, or barbel, which is, according to Layard (*Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 482), the principal fish of Babylonia, often attaining considerable size. Hence the *suġur*-fish was the emblem of Enki, along with the wild goat or ibex, the two being merged together as the goat fish, with the beard as the *tertium comparationis*. Frank's objections to Holma's discovery (*ZA* 29. 192 f.) are most unfortunate; he shows, however, that the Assyrian name of the fish was *p/buradu*, perhaps to be derived from *parādu*, 'be swift.'

winds, hail, mist, snow, and rain; cf. also Job 38. 22. In the Mandaean system (Brandt, *Mandäische Religion*, p. 63) the mystic vine of fertility, filled with water, is in the store-house of the upper world. For the Babylonians, of course, the store-house was in the lower world, in the *bît apsi*.

Why is the store-house placed under the supervision of Nannar, the moon-god? The question is not so difficult to answer as it may appear at first sight. The conception that the moon is so intimately connected with the fertilizing waters that it might even be regarded as their source, was widely prevalent in the ancient world,¹³ and is, in fact, one of the most universal tenets of mythology, however much obscured. It takes root in a number of very obvious circumstances, such as the heavy condensation of dew on moonlight nights, a matter of real importance to pastoral peoples; Herse was the daughter of Zeus by Selene. From time immemorial the tides have been associated with the action of the moon by maritime peoples; the tides in the Persian Gulf are mentioned in the *Bûndahîšn*. More arbitrary, but even more decisive was the belief that the lunar crescent was a bowl or basin containing the rains. When it tipped, the rains were fancied to be heavier; when it was level, it was a 'dry moon,' as is still the case today. Hence the rains which happened to fall during the time of new-moon were connected with it, and the new-moon was considered to be the rain-bringer (see below), a deduction quite as logical as the surviving superstition of the equinoctial storms.

In Indo-Iranian mythology the moon, Sôma-Haoma, and the waters were almost inseparably bound together. The remarkable development of the sôma theory has completely overshadowed the more primitive directness of association, but the latter still shimmers through in its original simplicity, thinly veiled by the metaphorical cloak. Out of the numerous illustrations given by Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*, pp. 355-385, we may mention *Aitarêya-Brâhmana*, 8. 28. 15, 'from the moon comes rain'; *Rig-vêda* 1. 105. 1, 'in the waters is the moon'; the name Apâṃ-napât, 'son of the water,' primarily the name of a vegetation spirit, but later applied to the moon or Sôma. The Iranian goddess of water, Ardvîsûra Anâhita, was probably lunar on her celestial side, just as Mithra was the sun. It is noteworthy that

¹³ Cf. Lydus, *De Mensibus*, 4. 21: ἀλλὰ καὶ Σελήνην αὐτὴν θεολογοῦσιν, οἷα ἐπὶ τῆς ὑγρᾶς οὐσίας τεταγμένην.

not only the great water source but also the lesser springs¹⁴ were associated by the Persians with the moon, a fact that attracted the attention of the great geographer, Yâqût, who gives a list of place-names containing the element ماء 'moon' (IV, 406), explaining it as follows (407, 4 ff.): تقدير الاسماء ان ماء الذى هو اسم القمر انما يقحموه على اسم كل بلد ذى خصب لان القمر هو اسم القمر , i. e., the element *mâh* is prefixed to the names of fertile places because the moon exerts an influence over the dews and waters from which fertility is derived. The American Indians similarly regard the moon as a water-giver, identifying her with the goddess of water. The Sioux are said to imagine the moon to be a woman carrying a bucket of water (see the citations in Roscher, art. 'Men,' 2. 2765).

As might be expected, therefore, the Egyptians referred the inundations of the Nile to lunar influence. To be sure, the Egyptian moon had to share honors with Sirius, etc., just as the Iranians turned in the Avestan system to Tištrya. Frazer, however, *Adonis, Attis, and Osiris*,³ 2. 129 ff., is entirely wrong in maintaining that the relation between the moon, Osiris, and the Nile is late and philosophical. On the contrary, the philosophical theories are merely introduced to place the ineradicable belief in lunar influence on a scientific basis. The fancy that the Nile-bull Apis was begotten by the moon (see below) can hardly be called late and philosophical. When Plutarch, *De Isid. et Osir.* 43, says, οἴονται δὲ πρὸς τὰ φῶτα τῆς σελήνης ἔχειν τινὰ λόγον τοῦ Νείλου τὰς ἀναβάσεις, he is reflecting a native view going back into primitive times; cf. also Chassinat, *RT* 38. 43 f., and 47.¹⁵

¹⁴ Their fluctuation in flow was associated with the lunar phases, a conception which survived in the philosophical fancy that the sun derived its refulgence from the sea, while the moon's softer light reflected the placidity of springs and ponds; cf. Plutarch, *De Isid. et Osir.* 41: Οἱ δὲ Στωικοὶ τὸν μὲν ἥλιον ἐκ θαλάττης ἀναπτέσθαι καὶ τρέφεσθαι φασί, τῇ δὲ σελήνῃ τὰ κρηναῖα καὶ λιμναῖα νάματα γλυκεῖαν ἀναπέμπειν καὶ μαλακὴν ἀναθυμίασιν.

¹⁵ I hope to show elsewhere that Osiris was fundamentally a lunar divinity, a conception still found in classical times, though very much obscured. The Egyptian celebration of Osiris' entrance into the moon cannot be tossed aside lightly as 'a late philosophical theory,' according to Frazer's superficial method of dealing with annoying facts. To his vast learning and phenomenal industry we owe very much indeed, but no one man can solve the infinity of problems which arise in our science, as Sir James seems to

So it is also in Mesopotamia. In the interesting hymn to the moon, *CT* 15. 17. 16b, the poet exclaims, *a-a* ^d*Nannar mà-dim a-gê-a dirig-ga-zu-dè—kug*¹⁶*-gi* ^{id}*Buranunu a im-si* ^d*Nannar* ^{id}*Pà-bù-luḡ-e a im-si* ^d*Nannar bunin-maḡ bunin-banda a im-si* ^d*Nannar* = 'Father Nannar, when like a ship upon the flood thou dost float * * * the pure river Euphrates fills with water, O Nannar, the canal Pabilluḡ, the large ponds, the small ponds, etc.' The inference here is unmistakable; in other cases we must remember that the Sin of Ur is one of the best illustrations of the syncretism by which a god standing at the head of a local pantheon was enriched with the functions and attributes of other deities. On a cylinder figured in Ward, no. 652, the lunar goddess A'a, identified by the accompanying name, holds the spouting vase from which the rivers flow (see my above-mentioned article), while the crescent moon floats overhead.

The foregoing material could easily be swollen; there is no lack of data bearing on the subject. The illustrations given are, however, surely sufficient to establish the reasonableness of my interpretation, as well as to pave the way for a plausible explanation of the next crux in our poem.

III

It is hardly likely that there is an organic connection between col. III, 1-8 = 21-28 and the following episode, which Langdon has made the pivot of his deluge hypothesis. On the other hand, 1-8 fits in very well with 39 ff. The alternation may be explained as an artistic tendency of the same nature as the complicated counterpoint and interplay of motives found in modern music; the poem was designed for antiphonal chanting in the liturgy. We may, therefore, distinguish two main divisions in our epic, dovetailed together in the middle, but without any real community of motive. The first part, including the first two columns, and lines 9-20 = 29-38 of the third is devoted to the genesis of fertility and the origin of the inundation; the second part, comprising the remainder of the text, is devoted to the introduction of culture by the hero Šummu (see below), and the consequent Fall of man, to be discussed in the next section of our study.

imagine. Osiris is Tammuz; but Osiris was not Tammuz originally—nor was he a deified king. The real Egyptian Tammuz was the shepherd (*bt*) Bitis (along with others, unknown to us); Osiris is a usurper.

¹⁶ For reading *ku(g)* instead of *azag* see Luckenbill, *AJSL* 33. 187.

The passage in which we are now interested, *il.* 9 ff., holds the same position relative to the account of the inundation as does the sexual union in the preceding column, and is hence likely to stand in a somewhat similar causal relation to the inundation. We may read it as follows:

9. *lugal-mu ní-dirig-ga-ri ní-dirig-ga-ri*
gìr-ni áš-a ^{giš}*mà-a ne-in-gub*
min-gu-ma šuššana im¹⁷-ma nam-mi-in-gin
12. *gab im-ma-an-tab gibil im-ma-an-su-ub*
^d*En-ki-gè a-šàg-ga ba-ni-in-ri*
a-šàg-ga šú-ba-ni-in-ti a ^d*En-ki-ga-ka =*
9. 'My king, invested with surpassing majesty,
 His foot first in the bark set;
 Then he caused it to move, sinking one-third (of its depth);
12. He caused the prow to gleam forth, anew he caused it to shine.
 By Enki the fields were inundated;
 The fields received the waters of Enki.'

Of the renderings hitherto proposed for line 9, only the latest of Langdon's can be accepted (cf. *AJSL* 33. 125); *ní-dirig-ga-ri* would be in Assy. *puluhta atarta ramû*, like *ní-su-zi-ri* (*CT* 16. 42. 12) = *puluhti šalummata ramû*.

Thanks to the improved readings of Jastrow, Chiera, and Barton, some sense can be made out of line 11. *Min-gu-ma* is to be taken as the equivalent of *min-kam-ma*; indeed, Jastrow (*ibid.* p. 126) states that the reading *kam-ma* is possible. Langdon, *SLT* no. 21, col. II, 9 (cf. also col. I, 4) offers *min-gu-ma*, used apparently like *min-kam-ma*, 'in the second place, next, further' (Sem. *šanīta^m*), found, e. g., Poebel, *HGT* no. 20, rev. 14; no. 15, obv. 3; *SLT* no. 5, obv. 3; Gudea, Cyl. A, VIII, 2; IX, 5, etc.; V, 2, and VI, 3 are doubtful, as the *min-kam-(ma)* may refer to the second god. *Áš-a* evidently corresponds to *áš-ám*, 'firstly,' and does not mean either 'alone,' or 'at once,' as suggested by the other expositors. It may be that *min-gu-ma* was read *mun-*

¹⁷ Sign *KÁŠ* = *gigri*, 'sink, be submerged, inundate'; for the reading *im* see *CT* 24 18. 17, *CT* 18. 32. 30. The Semitic equivalent *šanû* (*HW* 675 b), 'to inundate,' etc., is Ar. سب, 'irrigate,' and has no connection with *šalû*, the Ar. ساء, as shown by Haupt, *AJSL* 33. 48.

guma, as the word 'two' in Sumerian was either *min*, *man*, or *mun* ('seven' = 'two and five' is *i-min* or *u-mun*).

Chiera and Jastrow read *šanabi*, 'two-thirds,' instead of *šuššana*, which is the correct reading, according to Barton (*loc. cit.* p. 584, n. 2); see *AJSL* 33. 126. A passenger vessel might sink one-third where a freighter would sink two-thirds, as is expressly stated in the Deluge-poem. Barton's explanation of *šuššana* as the god *Šamaš* is evidently a *dernier ressort*, while a rendering 'two streams' for the preceding group is pure conjecture. I see no reason for a mythological interpretation of the line.

On the other hand, the next line seems to require an astral exegesis; the present translations are in every respect unsatisfactory, owing to the persistent effort to justify the rendering 'fire,' or the like, for *GIBIL*. Sum. *gab*, 'breast, front,' is used for 'prow,' like Eg. *ḥ'ti*, 'breast, front' (cf. also *ḥ'tit*, the cable attached to the prow, *Shipwrecked Sailor*, 1. 4); not the words for *elippu māhirtu* (سفينة ماحقة), *ḥmā-gab-šub-gú*, 'the ship cleaving with its prow' (*CT* 18. 34. 33c, *šub-gú* = *naqāru ša abni*, 'to cleave, said of stone') and *ḥmā-gab-ri-a-ni*, 'the ship which encounters (the current; cf. *gab-ri*, *gab-ri-a-ni*, 'opposition').¹⁸ *Tab* is commonly employed of the shining forth of the new-moon (*ḥamātu ša azqari*); cf., e. g., Kugler, *Sternkunde*, 1. 278. *Sub* is similarly used of the shining forth of the stars (cf. Langdon, *AJSL* 33. 48 f.); *sub-sub* (Br. 206, etc.) is the regular expression for the completion of the horns of the lunar crescent; for the various writings of the word *sub*, *šub*, 'shine, be bright,' see *SGL* 269. *Gibil* may be used pregnantly for *ud-sar-gibil*, 'new-moon,' like the Greek *ἡ νέα*, but, with our present knowledge, it is more systematic to render it as we have. The construction of *gibil* is the same as in Gudea, Statue B, III, 12, etc., where *gibil im-ma-ta-lál* corresponds to an Assyrian *eššūti iḡbat* (contrast *VB* 1); Gudea purified the city and reconsecrated it. In both cases *gibil* is an adjective agreeing with the object of the verb; hence the *bi* is omitted. The pure adverb, *gibil-bi*, is found, for instance, in Cyl. A, XIX, 22, *lù-tur gibil-bi è-dù-dim* = 'like a young man who newly (i. e., for the first time) builds a house.' The expression *gab—tab* occurs *SLT* no. 14, rev. 2, *e(KA¹⁹)-gar* (omitted in Langdon's copy) *-šag-ga gab-na*

¹⁸ See K4378 (*AL*³ 86 ff.), col. VI, 11 ff.

¹⁹ *KA-GAR* = *egirrû* (*SGL* 81) is evidently to be read *egar* (cf. *Esir* = *KA-DI*, *SLT* 177, n. 5; *e* = *enim*, 'word') > *egirrû*, which cannot be com-

im-mi-tab (intrans.—note absence of *n*, which Poebel has shown in his *Grammatical Texts* to be a transitive-causative particle), ‘propitious thoughts shone in her(?) breast’; cf. *banû egirrû’a*, ‘my thoughts were bright’ (i. e., cheerful—HW 18a), for which we might say ‘Merry thoughts danced (or sparkled) in my mind.’ *Tab* can hardly be rendered ‘multiply’ (*daġ*) with Langdon. In a tantalizing fragment published by Langdon, *Liturgies*, no. 52, we read (2 ff.) [] *igi im-ma-an* [] *šû mu-un-ni-in* [] *gab im-ma-an* [] *igi im-ma-an* [*sum?* - - -]. Since this bit of tablet also contains the verb *da-lal*, so important for the elucidation of our text (see below), scholars should be on the lookout for additional fragments.

The passage thus describes the appearance of the new-moon at the season of inundation, the significance of which has been already pointed out. It is no objection that Enki is represented as riding in Nannar’s boat; the spheres of the gods constantly overlap; Hommel believes that there is a special connection between Enki and Enzu, but his reasons, as set forth by Förtsch (*MVAG* 19. 45), are not particularly happy. There can be no doubt that Langdon is correct in maintaining that the syncretism of the last Sumerian period culminated in a strong philosophical movement toward pantheism, which received a powerful setback in the dark ages following the downfall of the first dynasty. Thus, in our text, Ninella, Nintu, Ninsar, Ninkurra, and Ninġarsag are tacitly identified; even Enki and Enlil are not clearly separated. Babbar is merely the sun, playing no independent rôle (see above)—the same seems to be true of the moon, which becomes Enki’s celestial bark. For his subterranean voyages the god may have had another vessel. The waters of Enki are derived from Nannar’s reservoir without inconsistency, because Nannar is only a form of Enki, after all. In fairness to the writers of our text, we should not impute to them such gross inconsequences as are found, for example, in such variegated collections as the Book of the Dead. It is quite unnecessary to draw for an explanation on astrology, where (IIIR. 55. 3, l. 4) the moon is placed under the jurisdiction of Ea during the second *hamuštu* of the month, when it is shaped like a kidney.

The best commentary on our passage is provided by an episode in the inscriptions of Gudea. Gudea prays to Ningirsu that his mother, the goddess Ninâ, may come to interpret his dream.

binced with *itguru*, ‘plan,’ from *egêru*, ‘bind’ (cf. Langdon, *AJSL* 34. 207), like *kapâdu*, primarily also ‘to bind.’

Upon the intercession (implied) of the god, she immediately sets out (Cyl. A, col. II, 4-6):

mà-gur(TEgunu)-*ra-na gîr-nam*²⁰-*mi-gub*
uru-ni Ninâ-šû ^{id}*Ninâ-du-a mà mu-ni-ri*
id gîbîl-gûl-lâ-e kûr-tur ni-si-il-e =

'In her lunar bark²¹ she set foot;

To her city Ninâ, on the river flowing to Ninâ, the ship departed,

²⁰ The definite principle should be established that *nam* is positive (corresponding to Assy. emphatic *lû*) except where used as a prohibitive like *bara* (cf. Assy. *â* with perfect as precativ, and *lâ* with present as pure prohibitive); the apparent exceptions rest upon misinterpretation, either by Akkadian or modern scholars. Cf. *SG* §§ 92, 100, 160, 176; Witzel, *BA* 8. 5. 102 f., *OLZ* 18. 362, n. 1 (observe, however, that the two can usually be readily distinguished). The pivot of the discussion has been the beginning of Cyl. A of Gudea, studied recently by Witzel (*loc. cit.*), who reached the conclusion that *nam* here is positive (the prohibitive force is excluded), and Kmosko, *ZA* 29. 159 f. (K.'s view that Gudea A, VIII, 1-14 describes a royal incubation seems to me most happy; the corrections of Witzel, *ZA* 30. 101 ff. are in general valid, but his attitude is markedly captious), who returns to the old viewpoint, maintaining that the water of the Tigris is so brackish that it cannot be described as *a-dûg-ga*. However, the lower course of the river is not nearly so brackish as the upper part, and during an inundation becomes quite sweet. An army medical officer during the recent campaign complained that the water 'is not a very healthy drink at the best of times,' but he was referring to the rich mud held in solution, on account of which the Sumerians called it the *ĝé-ma-al-la-điri*, 'abounding in fertility' (Reisner, *SBH* no. 48, 24-5), and the Akkadians termed it the *bâbîlat* *ĝegalli*. This is the force of *a-dûg-ga*; Witzel's rendering 'Wasserergruss' is impossible, because *dûg* = *riĝû* refers only to sexual intercourse. In fact this is a characteristic sample of his latest defense of his view, *OLZ* 18. 361-7. Aside from the misconception of the force of *nam*, Thureau-Dangin's translation is still the best. W.'s explanation of *me* = *parĉu* is little short of fanciful; *uru-me-a* is surely to be translated with Delitzsch, *SG* 41, 'in our city.' L. 9, *šâ-dEn-lîl-lâ-gè idIdigna-âm a-dûg-ga nam-tum* is to be rendered, 'The flood of Enlil in the Tigris (*SG* 63c) brought down sweet water (see above).' Lines 10 ff., *ê-e lugal-bi gû-ba-dé ê-ninnu me-bi an-ki-a pa-é-mu-ag-gè pa-te-si lû-geštug-dagal-kam geštug ni-gâ-gâ* = 'To proclaim (the glory of) the temple and king, and to make the Eninnu and the (divine) decrees renowned in heaven and earth, the *patesi*, a man endowed with profound wisdom, applied his attention.' As shown by the very first lines, the building of the temple is (theoretically) a mark of gratitude for the favor of the gods, not a propitiatory offering for their anger.

²¹ The *mà-gur* is, primarily at least, specifically lunar, as I hope to show elsewhere, for reasons not dependent on the constant association of the *makurru* with Sin.

The river, in newness of joy, morning and evening being propitious.'

In the meantime Gudea goes to Ningirsu again, and also to Gatumdug, praying that the goddess may be propitious. In col. IV, 3-4 we learn that Ninâ has reached her city, whereupon Gudea presents himself before her for the interpretation of his vision:

mà-gur-ra-na gîr-nam-mi-gub
uru-ni Ninâ-šù kar-Ninâ-gè mà ne-uš =

'In her lunar bark she set foot;

To her city Ninâ, at the quay of Ninâ, the ship arrived.'

Of course, the *deus ex machina* is not merely a poetic or ecclesiastical fiction; the image of the goddess was probably placed in her cult-bark, and taken in procession with appropriate ceremonies, unknown to us. From col. X, 17-18, we may gain an idea of the importance of the neomeny festival, which may play a rôle here. It is very likely that Gudea began to build the temple at the new-moon preceding the inundation; cf. col. XI, 4-24: *ê-ninnu ê-nam-lugal-mu sib-zid Gù-dé-a ud šú-zid ma-ši-tum-da an-šù im a-e gù-ba-dé - - e-pà gú-bi ma-ra-ab-zi-zi - - ê-im-mer-e ġar-sag-ki-el-ta im si-ma-ra-ab-sá-e kalam-e zi-šâg-gál ù-ma-sum* = "On the day that the faithful shepherd Gudea puts a steadfast hand to the (building of the) Eninnu, my royal house, in heaven a wind will announce (the coming of) water * * * the irrigating ditches and canals will be flooded for thee * * * from the house of the storm in the pure mountains I will send thee a wind, and will give the land life." If further cuneiform parallels are demanded, I will refer the sceptic to the text CT 15. 17, already cited.

IV

From rev. II (see below) it seems that the mother-goddess demanded or expected some reward for her complaisance and her submission to the trials of maternity. I am inclined to see in the episode obv. III, 1-8 = 21-28, to which 39 ff. may be added (see above), the reflexion of a version different from the account in rev. III. Owing to the lacunae in our text, it is quite impossible to determine to what extent the two were harmonized. It is at least unsafe to interpret the one without the other.

The situation in which we find ourselves at the beginning of obv. III is not particularly clear. The goddess, after bearing

life, is found on the bank of the river where Enki first came to her. Then—

^dNin-sar gú-íd-da-ga-šù mi-ni-ib-bi

^dEn-ki-gè má²²-ra im-da-lál e-ne im-da-lál e-ne

sukkal-a-ni ^dIsimu NE²³ gù-mu-na-dé-e

lù-dû šag-ga e-ne nu-mu-un su-ub-bi, etc. =

‘Ninsar called him to the bank of the river:’²⁴

‘By Enki he was granted’²⁵ to me.’

His vizier Isimu—addressed her:

‘The son of man, excellent is he, a pure offspring.’’

It is not necessary to take up space here with the antiphonal (?) repetitions. The goddess evidently has been piqued by the failure of her consort to fulfill his promises, and in the master’s absence turns to the man, who may have been considered the former’s spokesman, just as Hermes was the mouthpiece of Zeus. Isimu seems to hesitate at the idea of delivering the pure ‘son of man’ into the fickle hands of the goddess, notorious, as we learn in the sixth tablet of the Gilgames-epic, for the ruin of all her lovers. From 39 ff. it becomes reasonably certain that by the ‘son of man’ *TAG-KU* is meant. The appellative *lù-dû* is probably to be explained like the epithet applied to Adapa, a figure in some respects very much like *TAG-KU*, *zêr amêlûti*, ‘offspring of mankind,’ i. e. ‘mortal.’ It is very probable that the expression developed, on account of its sententious quality, a certain mystical value when applied to hero-saviors of the Tammuz type, in view of the fact that it clearly has this force in the Jewish apocalypses, but it is not safe to assume it for the Sumerian period.

Both Barton²⁶ and Langdon²⁷ have independently reached the

²² Chiera wishes to read *ZUK* (*ambar*; M 7844, *ambar* = *appa[ru]*), and in the Yale Syl. 49, [*a*]mbar = *apparu*), ‘marsh,’ but after a prolonged wrestle I gave it up as impossible; cf. Jastrow, *op. cit.* p. 122.

²³ Prince renders ‘thus,’ which is quite reasonable, though not certain; *ne-e* means ‘this.’

²⁴ Or, ‘Ninsar spoke on the bank of the river.’

²⁵ *Da-lál* is probably to be explained as ‘bind upon, charge with, bestow upon, grant.’ *CT* 17. 38. 22, *a-na ib-ba-ag-a-en ma-e ba-da-lál-e* may be rendered, ‘What thou doest, it shall be incumbent upon me.’ As Delitzsch points out (*SGI* 168), the Semitic *îâši kullimši* is erroneous, but ‘darauf achte ich’ is not much better. In the Poebel Deluge tablet, col. VI, *da-da-lál* seems to mean ‘reconcile’ (from *conciliare*, ‘bring together, unite’).

²⁶ *AJTh* 21. 595 f.

²⁷ *ET* 29. 221 (Feb., 1918).

conclusion that *TAG-KU* is a Tammuz, a result which seems to me unavoidable. Since *Tagtug* is out of the question, and *Takku* is hardly more satisfactory, *Šum-mu* may be suggested as a tentative reading. *Šum* = *ṭabāḥu* is the regular word used for the sacrifice of the god Lamga (a common name of Tammuz²⁸), from whose blood men were created; cf. *SEP* 23 ff., especially 26, 1. 22, and Ebeling no. 4, obv. 25 f., *^dLamga ^dLamga im-ma-an-šum-en-ze-en múd-múd-e-ne nam-lù-gál-lu mú-mú-e-ne* = 'The Lamga gods (!) shall ye slay—with their blood create mankind' (Akkadian inexact, *Lamga Lamga i-niṭbuḥa ina dāmēšunu i-niṭnâ amê-lûta*). It is true that *KU* = *mu* in the special meaning *ṣubātu*, 'garment,' and, so far as I know, is not used elsewhere as phonetic complement. However, since both *mu* = *ṣubātu* and *mu* (*KA* + *ZÍD*) = *ṭēnu*, 'grind,' interchange with the ordinary sign *mu* (*SGL* 188), we may be permitted to see in the writing an allusion to the grinding of the god in a mill as Ašnan (cf. Barton, *loc. cit.*), which became the orthodox fate of Tammuz in the Harranian system. Šummu would then be, κατ' ἐξοχήν, the god who 'died that man might live' in the late Sumerian theological system. At present, however, the reading Šummu is only another possibility.

Despite the scruples of Enki and his vizier, Isimu, in 39 ff. we find *TAG-KU* appearing before the goddess:

^dTAG-KU sal-ni-dim in []
^dNin-tu-ri ^dTAG-KU- ra gù-mu-na-dé-[e]
na-ga-e-ri na-ri-mu []
enim ga-ra-ab-dug enim²⁹-mu []
lù-diš-ám má-ra im-da-lál
^dEn-ki-gè má-ra im-da-lál =
'Šummu (?) paid obeisance³⁰ []

²⁸ *dLamga umun sa-bár*, 'Lamga lord of the net,' a common title of Tammuz. As the name means 'artisan, carpenter' (<*naggar*<Sem. *naggarum* = Eg. *ngr*), one thinks of *dDamu lù sa-kud-da keš-da-gè*, 'Tammuz who binds together broken ligaments' (as god of healing), which reminds one that in the Pyr. Texts *Dhwṭi* (Thoth) is the *ngr* who puts the bones of the dead king together again. Another moon-god, Sin, is the *lamga-gal-an-na-gè*, 'the great carpenter of heaven.' Here are a number of puzzling associations to be elucidated.

²⁹ Langdon (*SEP*) and Prince read *KA* once too often.

³⁰ The verb *sal-dim* may be explained on the basis of *dim(PAP + PAP)* = *sanāqu*, 'fasten, bind, subjugate' (*nu-dim-ma = lā sanqūti*, 'intractable'); *sal-dim* would mean 'be tractable as a woman, pay homage'; cf. *sal-dug*, 'be kind to,' and *sal-gá-gá*, 'chatter.'

Nin-tu addressed Šummu (?):

"I will purify thee; my purification []
Somewhat I will say to thee; my words []
One man has been granted to me;
By Enki he was granted to me."

In rev. I³¹ *TAG-KU* appears as the intermediary between men and the gods, buying edible plants for a price (*šám-šù*)—it is not stated what the price was, though we may suspect it to have been his own life. At all events we hear nothing further about his fortunes.

Rev. II, 15 we come upon the goddess complaining again about deferred promises, this time because certain plants seem to be withheld from her. Isimu replies:

*ú ma-e nam-bi li-ne-kud-da*³² =

"As for the plants, I have determined their destiny."

At this information Ningarsag (as the goddess is now called) exclaims in surprise:

a-na-ám ne-e a-na-ám ne-e =

"What's this, what's this?"

The vizier now gives the list of the plants in detail, making it perfectly clear that they are set aside for the usufruct of man, The disappointed goddess vents her wrath on the innocent cause of her chagrin, man, presumably not daring to curse Enki, her lord:

dNin-ġar-sag-gá-gè mu dEn-ki nam-erim ba-an-kud =

'By Ningarsag, on account of³³ Enki, a curse was uttered.'

The import of the curse has been the subject of much discussion; we may best render, 'The fulness (lit. face) of life until he (finally) dies let him not see.' The meaning is evidently that

³¹ For the best treatment cf. Jastrow, *op. cit.* p. 131 f.

³² So Jastrow and Chiera: *TAR-da*. If this is correct, *li-kud* must be a synonym of *li-tar*, since both *tar* and *kud* share the meanings *parāsu*, etc. *Li-tar* has three principal meanings: *arkatam parāsu*, a literal rendering of *li-li-tar*, 'to determine what is behind a thing, investigate (in legal parlance)'; *paqādu*, inspect, take care of'; *ša'ālu*, 'consult, decide.' There is no *li*, 'to ask' (*SGI* 170); *en-me-li* is 'the priest who declares mysteries.'

³³ For *mu* = *aššum* cf. *SG*. 81. For the expression, cf., e. g., *CT* 15. 4. 12: *šarrum šūt abbēšu liplaḥka*, 'May the king revere thee on account of his fathers.' The translation 'in the name of' is also possible, but is difficult to explain.

man is to be subject thereafter to the inroads of disease and senescence, to which he will eventually succumb. Other translations and interpretations do justice neither to the style nor to the exigencies of grammar. If our exegesis is correct, the Sumerian Fall was brought about by the pique of the mother-goddess, and was in no sense the fault of man. With Jastrow's remarks on p. 137 of his above-cited article I am heartily in accord.

Failing, however, to be appeased by her act of spite, Ningarsag threw herself on the ground and sulked, renewing her plaint that she had received no reward for her child-bearing, whereupon Enlil (now introduced as her traditional spouse) consoled her with the words:

za-e ^dNin-ġar-sag-ġá mu-e-du-mu-un-nam
 uru-má-a ġiš-má³⁴ ġa-ri-dú mu-zu ġé-pád-di =

"Thou Ningarsag hast borne me children;
 In my city a creature I will make for thee, to be called
 by thy name."

Enlil then proceeds to create this being in the city of their joint cult, and dedicates him to the service of the mother-goddess (*mu-pá* often means 'dedicate'):

ġuš(?) -a sag-ni diš-ám im-ma-an-peš-peš³⁵
 šà³⁶-ni diš-ám im-ma-an-búr-búr
 ġi-ni diš-ám izi-ne-in-ġar =

'Splendidly (?) his head as one unique he made broad;
 His heart as one unique he expanded;
 His eyes as one unique he enlightened.'

This unique being, devoted to the service of the mother-goddess, is clearly a *cinaedus*; to me this seems the only possible conclusion. Every year the predominant rôle of the eunuch priest, *UR-SAL* (i. e. harem-attendant) = *assinnu*, *kúr-ġar-ra* = *kur-ġarû*, and *kulû* (a Semitic word derived from *kalû*, 'prevent,' perhaps as one excluded from sexual intercourse; cf. *nu-ġig*, 'harlot,' prop. 'not inaccessible'), in Babylonian religion becomes plainer. There can be little doubt that the *kurġarê* and their

³⁴ Langdon's explanation of *ġiš-má* by *šiknatu* (i. e. *šiknu* or *šikittu*; there is no sing. *šiknatu*), 'creature,' is surely correct.

³⁵ For *peš* (*šû* + *KAD*) = *rapāšu*, *napāšu*, *paçādu* (فصل), 'widen out, open up,' see *SGL* 74 f.

³⁶ Perhaps instead of *šà* (Barton) we may read *PI* = *geštu*, 'ear, referring *búr* to *bur(U)* = *rapša uzni*, etc., 'of keen intelligence.'

ilk were as common in Erech as in Cappadocian Comana in later times. Our episode is therefore an aetiological myth explaining the origin of the guild of Galli, to be compared in some respects to Lucian's famous story of Combabus in his treatise *De Syria dea*, now admitted to be a genuine production of his youth.

Our results are corroborated, I believe, by another aetiological myth explaining the origin of the cinaedi, in the *Descent of Ištar*. The goddess of fecundity goes down to Hades to bring back the dead lord of vegetation, Tammuz, but is imprisoned in the underworld by Ereškigal. Things come to such a desperate pass on earth, production ceasing and social ties being dissolved, that Ea (Enki) creates a cinaedus, Aġûšunamer (called Aġnamer in the Ebeling recension), and sends him down to Hades with the injunction (*CT* 15. 46, rev. 13 ff.): "Go, Aġûšunamer, direct thyself to the gate of the Land of No-return; may the seven gates of Hades be opened before thee. Let Ereškigal see thee and rejoice at thy coming.³⁷ Conjure her by the great gods; lift thy head and look at the *ħalziqqu*³⁸ skin (saying), 'My lady, let them give me the *ħalziqqu* skin that I may drink therefrom.' " The mission was duly executed, but Ereškigal, who understood perfectly that the water of life was destined for Ištar, became very angry, and cursed the eunuch:

alka Aġûšunamer luzírka izra rabâ
akalê epinnê âli lû-akalka
ħabanât âli lû-maltitka
çilli dûri lû-manzazuka
askuppatsu lû-mûšabúka
šakru u zamû limħaçû litka.

The Aššur recension runs somewhat differently:

³⁷ The reason for Ereškigal's rejoicing, delicately alluded to rev. 16, 'After her desire has been appeased, and her heart has become merry,' is given more bluntly by Lucian, *De dea Syria* 22: γυναῖκες Γάλλων ἐπιθυμέουσι, καὶ γυναῖξί Γάλλοι ἐπιμαίνονται, ζηλοτυπεί δὲ οὐδεὶς, ἀλλὰ σφίσι τὸ χρῆμα κάρτα ἱρὸν νομίζεται.

³⁸ *Ĥalziqqu* may represent a Sumerian expression **gal-zi-gè*, 'allotment (*gal* = *zittu*, *zâzu*, *pirstu*) of life.' The Babylonian skin-bottle might have corresponded originally to the waters of life in the underworld (the *apsû*), imagined as confined in a water-skin; cf. Ps. 33. 7 (emended text). This explanation is doubtful, but it is at any rate better than the philological somersault indulged in *AJSL* 34. 28 (for *ħallu* cf. *JAOS* 36. 231, on line 173).

alka^m Aḩnamer šimti lâ mašê lušimka
lušimka-ma šimti lâ mašê ana ḩâti
epît (for epint) âli lû-kurummatka*
[ḩ]abanât ali lû-maltitka
[ḩil]lu dûri lû-ma(z)zazuka
aksup(p)atu lû-mûšabaka.

Of the two, the Ninevite is distinctly the better, not only in orthography, but also in adhering more closely to the Babylonian prototype. We may render it:

“I will curse thee with a great curse.
 The water-works of the city shall be thy food;
 The garbage-pots³⁹ of the city shall be thy drink;
 The shadow of the wall shall be thy resting-place;
 The threshold shall be thy abode;
 The drunkard and the outcast⁴⁰ shall smite thy cheek.”

This curse obviously alludes to the wretched lot of an old בִּלְכָּה, no longer able to ply his trade of lust, dragging his debauched body around, despised by all and befriended by none. His food and drink come from the garbage pail and the irrigating ditch; he is too poor to patronize the water-seller. During the day he crouches in the shade of some wall; at night he curls up in some doorway. Surely he is the most despicable of mortals: ‘Parcius quatiunt iuvenes fenestras.’

The comparison of the two recensions of our passage is most instructive. The number of lines is the same, but the editors of the Aššur text have suppressed the last line, being too picturesque and vivid, and have replaced it with a platitude, “I will give thee a destiny never to be forgotten.” Observing that the tendency of revision in our text is toward obscurity, we will further note that the second and the third lines have been mixed—with evident intention, as both recensions agree. At present the curse is too much like the trick conditions cited by

³⁹ *Habattu* and *hubunnu*, ‘pot,’ belong with خَبْن, ‘hide something in one’s garment,’ an extended form of حَبَأ ‘hide’ = *habû*, ‘store away’ (cf. قَسَن, قَسَا, etc.), whence *habitu*, ‘amphora’ (Haupt, *OLZ* 18. 296 f.); cf. Ar. *hubna*, ‘food hidden in the folds of a garment.’

⁴⁰ From *zamû*, ‘exclude, prohibit’; for the force cf. חָרַם and נָרַה.

Bloomfield, *JAOS* 36. 65 ff.; in accord with the concreteness of the last line, the primary reading of these two must have been:

“The garbage-pots of the city shall be thy food;
The water-works of the city shall be thy drink.”

The original writer had a very low opinion of the cinaedi, and did not hesitate to express it rather bluntly. His successors, however, objected to the impious attack on the holy priests of Istar, or perhaps feared that it might be misunderstood by the godless, so introduced a few changes, which have succeeded admirably in mystifying scholars, who have generally regarded Aġûšunamer as a ghost like the unburied shades of GE XII, col. VI, 11 f., whose food is *šûkulat diqari kusipat akali ša ina sūqi nadâ*, ‘food (left) in pots, pieces of bread lying in the street.’

Figulla has tried to analyze the sources of the *Descent of Istar* (*OLZ* 15. 433-441). While he has made some useful and interesting suggestions, his method does not commend itself, and the results cannot be maintained after the discovery of the Sumerian original (Poebel, *Historical Texts*, no. 23); Papsukal and Belili are Sumerian, not Elamite. He is unquestionably right in associating Aġûšunamer with Tammuz, but the former is not a parallel to the latter, but a pale reflex, serving the purposes of the myth in an entirely different capacity. Figulla's view that Tammuz went down to Hades to rescue Istar is reversing the order of events. It is undeniably true that the early Sumerians, and even the Semites, conceived the deity of vegetation as a being of rather indefinite sex, often androgynous, like the vegetation which he represented, and shifting gender at will, but under the hands of the priests the myths regarding him were molded in more definite lines. Both Tammuz and Istar, as vegetation-gods, spend part of the year in the underworld, but the theologians afterwards marked out their respective territories, making Istar the patron of plant-life and fecundity in general, and referring her visit to the underworld to her love for the dead favorite. At the same time, the more primitive conception, according to which Istar herself is imprisoned in the underworld, is retained.

The clue to the origin of the Aġûšunamer myth is found in the name, ‘His rising is brilliant,’ which cannot be separated from Namraġit and Ćisunamrat, names of the crescent moon (*azqaru*) with the same meaning.⁴¹ What connection can there

⁴¹ The Sumerian equivalent of *azqaru* and *Namraġit* is either *ud-sar* (-*gibil*), which Delitzsch (*SGI* 234) explains like *pa-ē*, ‘glänzend in die Erscheinung

possibly be between the moon and a mythical eunuch-priest? The answer is furnished by Egyptian mythology, where the moon as *k'n pt*, 'bull of heaven,' is, according to the hieroglyphs, 'bull in rut' during the first half of the month, and 'castrated bull' during the second half (cf. Brugsch, *Ägyptologie*, p. 331). Since the waxing moon was the symbol and index of virility and fecundity,⁴² whence it was represented as a bull (*bûru eqdu*, etc.) or an ass,⁴³ the conception of the emasculation of the waning moon was perfectly natural, especially in a land where religious castration played so important a rôle as in Babylonia. We are fortunately in a position to demonstrate the existence of the conception in Mesopotamia by independent evidence. According to a ritual for lunar eclipses, *KB* 6. 2. 42 ff. (cf. also Frank, *Religion*, pp. 118 ff.), if an eclipse occurs in Adar, the king is to touch the head of an *assinnu*, which will give him the power to conquer his foes (rev. 14). In Iyyar the king was instructed to look at a *kurgarû* (Gallus), who would thereupon pray on behalf of the king.⁴⁴ The primary significance of this curious ritual appears from the prescription for Ab, when the king was required to kiss⁴⁵ the face of an old woman. As may be seen from the formula *lumnu ippatar*, 'the evil will be averted,' the original purpose of all this rigmarole was to turn away the harm that might come to the land from the threatened destruction of

treten,' or *âš-SUGUŠ* (*DUGunu*)-bar (*UD*)-ra. Radau, in view of the writing *âš-DU-ûr* (see *Hilprecht Anniv. Vol.*, p. 420, n. 12), proposes to read *âš-gu(b)-ûr*, which is hardly probable. The correct writing is *âš-kâš* (the gloss *im*, *CT* 24. 18. 17 = 30, 10 is almost certainly erroneous; for *KÂŠ* = *im* see above)-bar(*UD*)-ra, which may mean, 'The one who makes decisions' (*ka-âš-bar* = *purussê parâsu*; Sum. *kašbar* can hardly be separated from *kasipar* in the Elamite divine name *Amman-kasipar*, which may correspond to a Sum. **Amna-ka-âš-bar* = *šamaš pâris purussê*); *IVR* 9. 46 the moon-god is called *umun ka-âš-bar-ra an-ki-a*, 'Lord who makes the decisions of heaven and earth.' Just as the fire-god *Gišbara* becomes **Gibara*, **Gibira*, *Gira*, so *Aškašbar* might be simplified to **Aškabar*, **Aškar*, which the Akkadians perhaps associated with *zaqâru*, 'be exalted,' by popular etymology.

⁴² I have treated this conception for Babylonia in an article to appear in this *JOURNAL*, entitled *Gilgames and Engidu*. The Egyptian fancy that the moon is a fecundating bull is reflected in the story of the generation of Apis, Plutarch, *ibid.* 43, *ὅταν φῶς ἐπελῇ γόνιμον ἀπὸ τῆς σελήνης καὶ καθάψῃται βόδις ὀργώσης* (in heat).

⁴³ See my article cited in the previous note.

⁴⁴ So interpret with Frank.

⁴⁵ So Jensen; Frank's derivation of *lis-si-ik* from *nasâku*, *issuk*, is impossible. The *s* is an Assyrian dialecticism.

the moon. Hence the ritual had as its first object the restoration of the moon, an aim no longer attained by such primitive devices as noise, but secured by the more mysterious and efficacious means of magic. In another study evidence has been collected showing that the analogy between the monthly lunar obscuration and the lunar eclipse is closely paralleled by the conceptions of lunar mythology. The eclipse was simply an irregular and alarmingly rapid repetition of the monthly phenomenon. The basis of the ceremonies mentioned was, therefore, that the king should, by the royal touch, communicate some of his virtue to the eunuch or old woman, and thereby, through the medium of sympathetic magic, induce the gods to revivify the dwindling moon (senescent or emasculated, both ideas which survive most explicitly in Egyptian mythology, which was much more primitive than Babylonian).

From the standpoint of comparative religion, the conception of the eunuch-moon descending into Hades for three days (the *ûmê bubbuli*) to rescue the goddess of life, and thereby save a dying world, is most interesting. The doctrine must have become very important in the late Mesopotamian Gnosis, of which we know so little—'die Volksreligion lebt in der Mystik wieder' (Dieterich, *Mutter Erde*², p. 37). Let us, however, turn back to less dangerous and more productive fields. As above noted, Aĉûšunamer is a reflection of Tammuz, standing in the same relation to him as the Galli stood to Attis. This is not the place to discuss the origin of ritual castration, except in its mythological aspects. The Galli are the representatives of the god, who, according to the most popular theory, emasculated himself to preserve his chastity.⁴⁶ In an older theory, he made a sacrifice of his own fecundity in order that nature might be fecundated, a view which proved too abstract for the masses, and was perpetuated by the theologians. From the purely mythological point of view, however, the self-mutilating god of fertility is the waning moon—in both Babylonian and Egyptian mythology the moon is *αἰράρκης* and *αἰρογενήτωρ*. So also the mutilation and dissection of the body of Osiris into fourteen

⁴⁶ For the variations of this myth see my article, *Historical and Mythical Elements in the Story of Joseph*, to appear in *JBL*.

pieces by Set refers to the progressive mutilation of the waning moon, as expressly reported by Plutarch (*De Isid. et Osir.* 42: Τὸν δ' εἰς δεκατέσσαρα μέρη τοῦ Ὀσίριδος διασπασμὸν αἰνίττονται πρὸς τὰς ἡμέρας, ἐν αἷς φθίνει μετὰ πανσέληνον ἄχρι νουμενίας τὸ ἄστρον), who here, as often elsewhere, hands down material of great value, despite Frazer's *caveat* (see above); the Egyptian priests hung on to the most primitive ideas with astonishing tenacity. Similarly, it is almost impossible to escape the conviction that the bark or coffin of Tammuz and Osiris goes back ultimately to the lunar bark, which for three days is entirely submerged—the *mà-su(d)-a* 'submerged boat,' of Tammuz. Naturally the goddess of fertility also has a *mà-su(d)-a*, just as she possesses the specifically lunar *mà-gur* (see above, and Langdon, *Tammuz and Ishtar*, p. 58) The ark-coffin of Osiris, in which he is thrown into the Nile after reigning 28 years,⁴⁷ is also a lunar bark, since Osiris himself is primarily lunar (see above). As Chassinat,⁴⁸ however, points out, for entirely different reasons, Osiris-Apis really ruled (or lived) only 25 or 26 years, corresponding exactly to the number of days during which the moon is visible. Such transferences of myths, functions and attributes from one god to another related one, or from one sphere of a god's activity to another, can surely occasion no surprise, at our present level of knowledge. While far from being a lunar mythologist, I cannot but consider it unfortunate that Assyriologists have not looked for more traces of lunar myths in their rich field.

While the collateral evidence for the association of the moon with (the god of) fertility is very extensive (see above, and my article *Gilgames and Engidu*, to appear in this JOURNAL), the only direct proof of an explicit parallelism between the lunar cycle and the growth of vegetation comes, curiously enough, from Jewish sources. *Genesis Rabba*, 16, 3, says of the fertility of the Euphrates Valley: אדם נוטע כי נטיעה והיא עושה לשלשים ימים זורע כי ירק והיא עומדת לשלשה ימים = 'If a man plants a garden in me, it produces in thirty days (a lunar month); if one sows in me, the sprout appears in three days (the time of the moon's burial equated to the time of burial of the seed).' The myth of the resurrection of the buried seed in three days is not

⁴⁷ Plutarch, *ibid.* 13.

⁴⁸ *RT* 38. 33.

uncommon in subtropical countries; I remember as a boy reading in a mission journal of a beautiful case from Paraguay, where the maize-hero rose after three days burial to save the people during a famine.

As a result of these conceptions the moon was thought to play some part in the resurrection of vegetation, and was hence the natural agent sent down to the underworld⁴⁹ during the period of lunar darkness (in the spring!) to bring to life the goddess of fertility. Since the moon is the astral receptacle of the water of life, other associations may have arisen, whose cumulative effect established the myth on a firm basis. As noted already, however, the curse of Ereškigal is not astral at all, but refers solely to the envoy of the gods as a cinaedus.



If any problems have been solved in the foregoing study, it has been solely because of the combination of the philological method with the comparative mythological. So far as possible both must be given their rights, while kept rigidly within bounds at the same time. Otherwise, it is evident, the results are likely to be defective or distorted. While our knowledge of Sumerian and even of Assyrian is imperfect, we must know what to expect, placing ourselves, so far as practicable, in the milieu of the times; if, on the other hand, we tackle the texts from the comparative angle, without an adequate philological equipment, the results are usually worthless, except as collections of illustrative material.















⁴⁹ The sojourn of the moon in the underworld seems to have played a much more important rôle in mythology than we are accustomed to think, though it appears more rarely, as befits its erratic character, than the daily passage of the sun through the underworld. *Μην καταχθόνιος* (cf. Roscher, 2. 999 and 2750) is a title referring probably to the god's stay in the underworld during the three days of invisibility. Cf. also Plutarch's curious story of Timarchus (*De genio Socratis*, 22), where the moon is overtaken by the Styx during lunar eclipses, *δαιδόνων ἐπιχθονίων οὐσα*. The conceit is certainly drawn from an older source.

ORIGIN OF *MAŠ* OR *BAR* AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF ITS MEANINGS¹

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THE SIGN *MAŠ* = , in its archaic form , was a cross. This symbol, which was sacred in pre-Christian as well as in Christian times, led to so many developments, magical, religious, and astronomical, among the various races of antiquity, that it would lead too far afield to consider it in this aspect, except in so far as this character of the *MAŠ* sign will help us understand the enormous linguistic development to which it gave rise and the processes of suggestion through which they were evolved.

The sign also had the value *BAR*, but this value, later on, I believe, came to be chiefly, though not exclusively, attached to the form  archaic , so that, though in some cases, such as  'twin' 175, 181;  'companion' 183;  'bright' 20, 103;  'shine' 46;  'half' 106, 169;  'cut in two' 33;  'section' 101;  'separation' 120;  'chief' 15;  'strong' 17;  'dwell' 14;  'dwelling' 180 (numbers refer to *B. W.* 77), they have the same signification, there gradually gathered around each certain meanings mutually exclusive. The fact is, as we shall see, two pictographs represented two kinds of tools for producing the same result.

Previous views on the origin of *MAŠ* may be found summarized in Barton's *Babylonian Writing*, 2. 45. They all ascribe several origins to the sign, a view which the writer also held until convinced of its incorrectness. To claim that all the 166 known Semitic equivalents can be explained through this new theory would be to claim too much, but that an overwhelming number can be so explained is beyond doubt.

The principal meanings of *MAŠ* and *BAR* as given in Sumerian vocabularies, cf. Delitzsch, *Sumerische Sprachlehre*, are:

¹ Semitic equivalents, their sources and all but a few of the translations in this paper are taken from Prof. George A. Barton's indispensable *Babylonian Writing*, part II, under sign 77.

MAŠ. 'clear, pure; first, chief; twin.'

BAR. 'decide, divide, half, bind, surround, side.'

There are, however, other meanings such as 'fire, magic, conjurer,' which have been considered secondary.

Now if we can find in our sign the pictograph of some primitive article of universal use from which the ideas underlying these meanings could have arisen, and if we can show, among primitive races recent and living, a use of this tool with notions attached to it similar to those found in Babylonian syllabaries, it is very likely that we have the conditions necessary to solve the problem. Such an article I believe will be found in the most primitive form of fire sticks and fire drills and the ideas associated with them. If this be so, it will not be necessary to suppose more than one pictograph from which almost all the meanings were derived.

In order to show that a connection of ideas exists between practically all the chief meanings of *MAŠ* or *BAR*, it will be necessary to consider the nature and uses of fire-sticks and the accounts we have of their use among the ancients and among present day primitive people. By consulting the index to the 3d edition of Frazer's *Golden Bough*, also the article on 'Fire' in 11th *Britannica*, and particularly E. B. Tylor's *Researches in the Early History of Mankind*, page 238 ff., we shall find abundant illustrations of kindling fire by wood friction.

In the *Britannica* we read: 'In Cochin China two pieces of bamboo are considered sufficient [to produce fire], the silicious character of the outside layer rendering it as good as native flint,' i. e. one piece of bamboo was simply rubbed across the other until fire was produced.

Tylor, on 252, states: 'In East Asia and in Great Malay, Islands of Borneo and Sumatra, Marsden says he has seen fire produced by rubbing one bit of bamboo with a sharp edge across another.'

Bamboo exists in Babylonia and was probably known to the Sumerians in their primitive habitat. If used in this way the act of making fire would form a *MAŠ* (i. e. a cross) of the sticks, which was doubtless the most primitive method of making fire.

Tylor, in a series of graphics, shows in addition three other methods of producing fire by friction of wood: one is by the

stick and groove; another by rotation of a pointed stick, like an arrow shaft, in a round hole made near the end of another stick or piece of wood; and, finally, rotation by a string or bow-drill.

Attention is called here especially to the second of these methods, i. e. the rotation of a pointed stick in a hole near the end of another stick. The Bushman of Australia squats on one end of the second stick and twirls the other rapidly between the palms of his hands until fire is produced and caught in some tinder by another Bushman, who then blows it into a flame.

Now such a tool, if pictured, would look like $BAR = \perp$ or Y and being merely an advance on the simpler $MAŠ = +$, would originally convey the same ideas. Why Babylonians, in the course of time, gradually attached one set of meanings to $MAŠ$ and another set to BAR cannot be answered, but the process of suggestion that caused the different classes of meanings to arise from the primitive fire-stick or drill is not so difficult to understand, if we bear in mind that we are dealing with habits and thinking of primitive man, to whom the making of fire was a magic act and would seem like drawing light and heat from the sun or from heaven. In fact we know that the making of *new* fire was performed by the magician, and later, for religion, by the priest.

So far as we know, man has known how to produce fire since diluvial times. Pieces of charcoal and burnt bones have been found in diluvial limestone caverns with the relics of the mammoth and the cave bear.

Osborn, in *Men of the Old Stone Age*, p. 165, says: 'The first positive evidences of the use of fire are layers of charred wood and bones frequently found in the industrial deposits of early Acheulean times; not less than 50,000 years ago.'

Homo sapiens seems always and everywhere to have known the art of making fire, and it is no wonder that a symbol so long in use should, in the course of ages, have suggested many things which it was supposed to be and to effect.

Thirteen meanings, such as *īsu* 'wood,' *tu'āmu* 'twins,' *kadādu* 'bow down,' *qantariṭu* 'a reed that fits in,' could be derived from the simple bamboo sticks or the fire drill and the way in which they were used. Here may be added also X = *īkilallan*, 'the double god' (the two sacred sticks?).

Thirty-six equivalents would be suggested by the effect produced, i. e. fire and known effects of light and heat on vegetation. Some of these are *nûru* 'fire, light'; *ṭitaltu* 'flame'; *kabâbu ša išâti* 'to kindle,' said of a fire; *barâru* 'shine'; *mašû* 'be bright'; *šîru* 'morning'; *šamšu* 'sun'; *naṭâlu* 'look, see'; *uššubu* (*BAR*) 'sprout'; *ibbu* (*MAŠ*) 'fruit.' These and 25 other words not including the gods 𐎶 = Nergal, a sun god (midday sun) = Ninib, the eastern sun, = Gibil, the fire god, and some others into the composition of which *MAŠ* or *BAR* enter such as Šamaš, ^dMu-bar-ra = ^dGiš-bar, etc., show clearly that fire and the making of fire was an original, inherent meaning of *MAŠ*.

We come now to the question, How did prehistoric men reason about fire? To what source did they ascribe it? How did they explain the process necessary to obtain it? They knew nothing of the laws of physics, and investigations among primitives prove that, in the earliest stage of spiritual development, they are thoroughly animistic and ascribe objects and events they do not understand to supernatural causes.

That this was the case with fire we have abundant proofs, both in ancient myths, such as that of Prometheus, who was said to have brought stolen fire to mankind from Olympus in a hollow reed, and among modern savages and ancient cults such as those of India.

Frazer in *Spirits of the Corn and the Wild*, 265, tells us that the Caffres, at their festival of the new fruits, insisted these must be cooked with new fire before a general use of them was allowed. This new, sacred fire was kindled by the friction of two sticks of the *Uswati* tree, prepared by the sorcerer. When the magician has lit the new fire he hands the fire sticks back to the chief, for no other hand may touch them.

Again Frazer 2, ch. 15, 'Magic Art,' says: 'The sticks among the Herero were held to be sacred and were guarded by the chief in whose family they were hereditary and near whose house the

² It is a confirmation of the connection of sun and heat with sprouting that we find in *BW* 2. 337, *UD* = *hanâbu* 'sprout' and 266. *BURU* = *inbu* 'fruit' (result of sprouting), for the pictograph of *UD* was a rising sun and *BURU* was, as Barton suggests from Dr. Ward's *SCWA* p. 394, 'an old sun symbol,' namely a cross, usually represented on Babylonian seals and monuments by the four-pointed star.

perpetual fire was kept burning. If this fire by any accident was extinguished, or if new fire was to be made, these sticks were called into requisition.'

As for the use of a sacred, perpetual fire and new fire in religion, it will only be necessary to mention the perpetual fire kept up by the vestals in Rome where, if by any accident the fire was extinguished, a new one was made according to a regular ritual, not with flint and steel which the Romans knew, but by the fire-drill consisting of two pieces of wood.

We know that in Egypt, Babylonia, and Greece, as well as among the Aztecs and Incas, there were temples with perpetual fires, survivals of which we have still with us in the eternal lamps of the synagogues and the perpetual lights in Roman Catholic, Greek and High Episcopal churches.

As for the new fire and the sacred significance attached to it, I believe we have a survival of it in the Easter Eve Holy Fire of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which was originally no doubt new fire produced by wood friction and believed to be from heaven, as many of the Russian pilgrims who take it all the way back to Russia to light anew sanctuary lamps of their home churches believe it to be to-day.

Tylor, *Anthropology*, p. 16, tells us that in India 'though people have for ages kindled fire for practical use with the flint and steel, yet the Brahmans, to make the sacred fire for the daily sacrifice, still use the barbaric art of violently boring a pointed stick into another piece of wood till a spark comes. Asked why they thus waste their labor when they know better, they answer that they do it to get pure and *holy* fire.' Once more, Frazer, 'Magic Art,' p. 253, says: 'At Port Stevens, in New South Wales, the medicine-men used to drive away rain by throwing fire-sticks into the air, while at the same time they puffed and shouted.'

From all this it will be seen that, if I am right in my theory that the sign MAŠ arose from the crossed fire-sticks, there is a connection between that sign and magic because of the supposed heavenly origin of the fire and the supernatural power of the sorcerer who could call that fire down.

When, later, magic gave place to religion, when the diviner and the astrologer took the place of the magician, remembering that the new fire was made to the accompaniment first of incan-

tations and then of prayers, we should expect exactly such meanings as we find attached to this sign.

We have already considered the meanings derived from the tools or fire-sticks, and those from the effect of using them. In addition to these are such as are derived from the supposed origin and nature of the fire.

As fire was thought to be brought down from the sun, or from heaven, the act of bringing it down was looked upon as magic and the man who brought it down as a magician. It has been abundantly shown by Frazer and others, that among primitive savages no one in the tribe had a more influential position than the sorcerer or magician. Hence we are not surprised to find meanings for *MAŠ* arising from the position in the tribe of magicians, diviners and priests who called down the heavenly fire and by its means, through fire gods, were able to control and banish evil spirits as well as procure blessings for mankind.

Thus we have: *amelâšîpu* 'exorcist'; *barû* 'a seer'; *mašmaššu* 'conjurer'; *massu bîtu* 'the *massu* (priest) of the temple,' who may have made the new fire; *zanâna* 'rain.'

Then, as indicating something sacred, or taboo: *aḥû* 'strange, hostile'; *balû* and *bêltu* 'fright, terror'; *amelzâ'iru* (*BAR*) 'adversary'; *kapâru* 'ruin'; *lâ sanâku* 'not oppress.'

As results of divination: *kašâdu* 'capture'; *mašâru* (*BAR*) 'lead, send away' (bad spirits?); *nussû* 'separation'; *palâḥu* 'fear'; *takâpu* 'overpower'?; *kabattu* 'liver' (cf. liver divination); *zâru* 'hate,' whose seat is in the liver; *zukkû* 'pure, clean' (from *zakû*? Piel?).

We have also cosmological ideas, as the sign *MAŠ* divided the zodiac into quarters, such as *mašlu* 'midst'; *šadâdu* 'be wide, large'; *padânu* 'road.' There are 24 more *MAŠ* and *BAR* equivalents which I have placed under the general head of magic.

The meanings thus far seem to show that the signs *MAŠ* or *BAR* were pictographs of a pair of fire-sticks, that they meant fire and that this fire was magical and sacred. The act of producing fire by friction of wood was thus an act of magic and later of divination.

With this meaning attached to the sign in the Babylonian mind it was perfectly natural that, in the course of time, there should develop a large number of derived, associated or suggested mean-

ings so that in *MAŠ* and *BAR* we have the root of all or almost all of the 166 known equivalents.



The magician among primitive savages was and is the chief man of the tribe. Hence *ašaridu* 'first, chief'; and by association, *ezzu* 'strong'; *ênitû* 'lordship'; *urigallu* 'elder brother'; *šêru* 'high, lofty' (possibly cosmological); *šutqu* 'renowned.'

Again with the incantations and ritual associated with fire and the fire gods we find formulas and hymns for binding and banishing evil spirits. Hence a large group of secondary meanings which became conventionalized and led to developments in which all resemblance to the original meaning of the sign is lost: as *BAR* = *kamû* 'bind' 'seize' 'lead captive,' *itiâtû* and other words signifying 'enclosure, boundary, section, portion'; *maḥazu* 'city,' i. e. an enclosed place; *âšibu* 'dwell'; *kîmtu* 'kindred, family'; and *šîndu* 'yoke.'

From 'bind, surround' were derived such meanings as *aḫu* and *pûdu* 'side'; *arkâtû* 'behind, after'; *aḫuru* 'westward'; *aḫrû* 'future'; *šêtu* 'exit,' i. e. outside; *zumru* 'body,' i. e. outside of a man; and *pagru* 'corpse,' i. e. separated because taboo.

Perhaps the chief function of a diviner was to interpret omens and give decisions. A decision implies a division of possibilities, accordingly we have *MAŠ* = *paruššu*, *mêrišu*, *tišmittu*, meaning 'decision.'

While it is possible that such meanings as *šunnû* 'one half,' *uššuru* 'cut in two,' and others signifying 'half, divide, separate,' originated in the cutting across each other of the sticks to produce fire, it seems more reasonable to suppose they were derived from the idea of 'decision,' from which would also arise such words as *ḥasâsu* 'think, remember'; *šabru* 'understanding'; and *bitramu* 'a fox?' possibly from its cunning; *galalu* 'small,' and *kisittu* 'fodder,' perhaps were also suggested by 'divide.' Whether *karpatšûtu* and other words for sacrificial vessels were due to association with the fire ritual I cannot say, but it seems so.

Besides the above groups of equivalents for *MAŠ* and *BAR* there is a group meaning 'produce, increase, wages, cattle,' evidently due to a confusion of  with  which had a different origin. *Šipru ša iššuri* 'claw, of a bird,' arose from a supposed resemblance of the sign to birds' claws. There are, in

addition, twenty equivalents of doubtful or unknown meanings which I have, of course, omitted.

On the whole it seems reasonable to conclude that *MAŠ* or *BAR* and its meanings originated in a pictograph of fire-sticks.

The following note contains remarks made, after the reading of the paper, by Professor Julian Morgenstern:

REMARKS BY DR. JULIAN MORGENSTERN.

Dr. Nies' chain of argument, it would seem, would be rounded out, if it could be shown that the practice of kindling new fires on appropriate occasions was practiced by Semitic peoples in general, and by the Babylonians in particular.

Dr. Nies has correctly referred to the ceremony of the descent of the sacred fire in the Church of the Sepulchre at Jerusalem on the late afternoon before Easter Sunday. On this occasion, not only are the lights in the church extinguished and then rekindled from the new fire, but also in Christian homes and sanctuaries throughout the land, fires are extinguished, to be rekindled from the new fire from the Church of the Sepulchre, ceremoniously brought by runners, carefully selected for this task (cf. the detailed description in Wilson, *Peasant Life in the Holy Land*, 45f.). In a paper, as yet unpublished, I have collected abundant evidence that this supposed descent of fire from heaven, and the kindling therefrom of new fires upon the altars of temples, were ancient Semitic new year rites. For this reason temples seem to have been dedicated regularly at the new year festival.

Thus Solomon's temple was dedicated at the Succoth festival (1 Ki. 8). The dedicatory rites obviously culminated on the eighth day of the festival, the pre-exilic new year's day (cf. my *Two Ancient Israelite Agricultural Festivals*, *JQR* (new series), 8 (1917). 42). On this day the *kebod Yahwe*, the fiery form supposed to be assumed by the Deity, according to the theology of the Priestly Code, when revealing himself to mortals (cf. my *Biblical Theophanies*, *ZA* 25. 151), filled the temple, so that the priests could not remain there (1 Ki. 8. 10f.).

Likewise in the Pg account of the dedication of the tabernacle in the wilderness, the culminating rites of the descent of fire from the *kebod Yahwe* and the miraculous kindling of the sacred flame upon the altar, took place upon the eighth day of the dedicatory exercises, manifestly coincident with the eighth day of the festival (Lev. 9. 1 and 24). Since in Lev. 16 the legislation for the tenth day of the seventh month, the late, post-exilic Day of Atonement, but the pre-exilic new year's day, followed in Pg immediately after the account of the dedication of the tabernacle in the wilderness, the consecration of Aaron and his sons, and the death of the two sons of Aaron, because they brought *strange* fire, i. e. fire not from off the altar, and therefore not emanating from the *kebod Yahwe*, it may be inferred that this eight-day dedication period was coincident with the early Succoth-new year festival from the 3rd through the 10th of the seventh month, and that, here

too, the descent of fire, the culminating dedicatory rite, was on the new year's day. Secondary priestly tradition, probably under Babylonian influence, transferred the date of dedication of the tabernacle from the Succoth-festival to the first eight days of Nisan (Ex. 40. 1).

It is interesting to note in this connection that Clay, *Miscellaneous Inscriptions in the Yale Babylonian Collection* (Yale Oriental Series—Babylonian Texts), no. 52, pp. 81ff., records the dedication of a temple at Erech in 244 B. C., which culminated with the entrance of Anum and Antum into the shrine on the 8th of Nisan. It may be inferred that the full dedication celebration lasted from the 1st through the 8th of Nisan. In other words this temple, too, was probably dedicated at the Babylonian new year period. The ceremonial entrance of the gods and goddesses into their sacred shrines seems to have been an important rite of the celebration of the Babylonian *zag-muk* or new year festival. Gudea, too, dedicated at least one, and probably more temples upon the *zag-muk* festival: Statue B, VII, 26-36 (Jensen, *KB* 3ⁱ, 40-41; Thureau-Dangin, *VAB* 1. 72-73); VIII, 11; XXIII, 4; Statue G, II, 1ff.; III, 5ff. (Jensen 60-61; Thureau-Dangin, 84-85); Cyl. B. III, 5ff. (Thureau-Dangin, 124-125); XVII, 18ff. (Thureau-Dangin, 138-139). The dedication ceremonies continued for seven days. During the festival week the servant was equal to his master and rejoiced along with him just as at the Biblical Succoth-festival. The first month was called by Gudea ITÚ-É-BA, the Month of the Temple (Cyl. B, III, 7). In other words, this seems to have been the regular annual season for temple-dedications in Babylon. Probably at this season the new fire was kindled in the temples, and may even have been thought to have descended from heaven on the new year's day.

It is possibly significant too that in the old Sumerian list of months Ab was called ITÚ-NE-NE-GAR, the month of making fires (Delitzsch, *Lese-stücke*⁴, 114; Brünnow, *List*, 4621). All this would tend to indicate that the kindling of sacred fires was an ancient and established religious ceremony in Babylon.

PROSELYTING THE ASURAS
(A NOTE ON RIG VEDA 10. 124)

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THE HYMN RIG VEDA 10. 124¹ has always puzzled scholars and its treatments have been varied. Its difficulties are so unusual that I suggest a new interpretation only with the greatest diffidence.

There seems to be unanimous assent to the theory that it is a dialog containing an invitation from Indra to Agni to leave the Asuras and serve at the sacrifice of the Devas, and an acceptance in reply by Agni. Beyond this point interpretations disagree. I shall not review them all here, but shall mention only such points as bear on my own interpretation.

The first question concerns the Asura pitṛ mentioned in vs. 3. This title is usually applied in the Rig Veda to Varuṇa or Dyaus, and might allude to Rudra.² This fact probably more than any other has led many scholars to connect the hymn with the 'Indra-Varuṇa conflict'; and Bergaigne has maintained unhesitatingly and with considerable supporting evidence that here Asura pitṛ, Varuṇa, and Vṛtra are one and the same.³ This theory, however, has not been adopted by later scholars, for it requires a strong effort of the will to identify two characters so extremely dissimilar in the Veda as are Varuṇa and Vṛtra. Geldner⁴ thinks that the Asura pitṛ is Vṛtra, an opinion rejected by

¹ For a bibliography of this hymn see Oldenberg, *Rgveda. Textkritische und exegetische Noten* 2. 342. Add to it Hillebrandt, *Lieder des Rgveda*, p. 21.

² It hardly seems likely that Varuṇa is meant, since he himself receives an invitation from Indra in vs. 5. Dyaus and Rudra would have no significance here, for neither one of them is so much as alluded to in any other part of the hymn. The suggestion of Rudra offers some allurements in that the Asura pitṛ is described as śivá (vs. 2), Rudra's prevailing name in later times. Further, Rudra seems to have an 'Asurisch' character in the bad sense of the word (see Segerstedt, *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 57. 174 ff.).

³ *La religion védique*, 3. 145 ff.

⁴ Pischel und Geldner, *Vedische Studien*, 2. 298.

Hillebrandt,⁵ who claims that in the Rig Veda Vṛtra is never an Asura. I cannot see why he should speak so positively, for while Asura is not applied to Vṛtra as an epithet, he surely must concede that even in this hymn Vṛtra is on the side of the Asuras, and that he often falls into a class with the other enemies of Indra some of whom are called Asuras,⁶ while of course in later times he is often an Asura and occasionally appears at the head of the Asuras, as Hillebrandt himself notes. Altho it cannot be positively demonstrated that Asura pitṛ here indicates Vṛtra, there are negative reasons for believing so. If we assign this part to Vṛtra the allusions to Varuṇa by name no longer become so hard to interpret as when we assign it to Varuṇa himself. Nor does the Asura pitṛ then have the colorless and superfluous part in the hymn that he plays if considered to be Dyaus or Rudra.

The story alluded to by the hymn seems to come from a period in Vedic thot when the conflict between the Asuras and the Devas was clearly recognized. Indra, the chief of the Devas, is joined by Agni, Varuṇa, and Soma, who desert the Asuras. Geldner adduces a legend from the Tāittiriya Saṃhita 2. 5. 1 and 2,⁷ which tells how Tvaṣṭṛ, eager to revenge his son Viśvarūpa whom Indra had killed, created Vṛtra by means of a Soma sacrifice. Indra was about to hurl his vāja at Vṛtra, when Agni and Soma, who were within Vṛtra, called to him to stay his hand. Hereupon he invited them to come out of Vṛtra and join his side; and when their defection had been successfully accomplished he slew Vṛtra. This story, I believe, has some points of agreement with the myth referred to in our hymn, but is not the same.

Our hymn appears to me to concern a general conflict between the Devas and the Asuras, not an individual affair of Indra with Vṛtra. These two, however, are leaders of their respective sides.

⁵ *Vedische Mythologie*, 3. 68.

⁶ E. g. Pipru in Rig Veda 10. 138. 3. Indra's enemies, the Adevas, are called Asuras in Rig Veda 8. 85. 9; and the enemies of the Devas are so termed in Rig Veda 10. 53. 4, and 10. 157. 4. Svarbhānu and Namuci, foes of Indra, are described by the adjective *āsurā* in Rig Veda 5. 40. 5 and 9, and 10. 131. 4. See also v. Bradke, *Dyaus Asura*, p. 22.

⁷ *Vedische Studien*, 2. 292 ff.

Agni, Varuṇa, and Soma were Asuras.⁸ In vs. 1 Indra invites Agni to leave the Asura pitṛ (Vṛtra). Agni accepts in vs. 2; whereupon in vs. 3 Varuṇa, too, deserts the Asuras without invitation, and in vs. 4 Soma follows. In vss. 5 and 6 Indra calls encouragingly to Varuṇa and Soma in terms of invitation and reward. In vss. 7, 8, and 9 the singer lauds the results of Indra's superiority and the friendship of those Asuras who have joined the Devas. I now translate the hymn:

1. (Indra, speaking for the Devas:) Come hither, Agni, to this our sacrifice, of five ways, three-fold, and seven-threaded. Be our oblation-bearer, our leader too! Long, too long hast thou lain in darkness.

2. (Agni:) Leaving the Non-Deva⁹ secretly and by hidden ways, as a Deva, foresighted, I go to immortality. When him⁹ (tho) gracious I ungraciously desert, I go from my natural friends¹⁰ to a strange household.¹¹

3. (Varuṇa:) Seeing (that) the guest (i. e. Agni) (is now) of the other branch,¹² I measure out many ordinances of the sacrifice. I say farewell to the Asura Father,¹³ I go from the portion that is without sacrifice to that which has the sacrifice.

4. (Soma:) Many years have I passed within him.¹⁴ (Now) I have chosen Indra and desert the father. Agni, Soma, and

⁸ The character of these gods as Asuras in the benevolent use of the word can be easily seen by glancing at v. Bradke, *Dyaus Asura*, pp. 120-122, and the passages to which reference is made there. This frequent character of benevolent Asuras leads to their temporary association here with the malevolent Asuras.

⁹ The Asura pitṛ, Vṛtra.

¹⁰ The Asuras.

¹¹ The Devas.

¹² That is: seeing that the guest, Agni (átithi is a frequent epithet of Agni), has now gone over to the other branch (the Devas). Agni's changed allegiance means that henceforth the Asuras will be *ayajñīyā* (without sacrifice) and the Devas will be *yajñīya* (with sacrifice). As Dr. Edgerton aptly puts it: Ubi Agnis; ibi yajñās.

¹³ Pitṛ sometimes means protector or guardian (see Grassmann, *Wörterbuch*, s. v. 8). Asura pitṛ may mean only 'Chief Asura,' the head of the Asura forces. This epithet would fit Vṛtra here better than 'father' (*genitor*).

¹⁴ Vṛtra, like Indra, is aided by drinking Soma. See Geldner, *l. c.* p. 299, note 1.

Varuṇa—they fall away (from the side of the Asuras). Rule changes. Therefore I come to aid.

5. (Indra to Varuṇa:) Without magic resources will those Asuras become, if you, Varuṇa, bestow your love on me.¹⁵ Separating the false from the true, O King, come rule my kingdom.

6. (Indra to Soma:) Here has been the light of Heaven: here welfare: here light and the broad mid-air. Let us two kill Vṛtra! Come forth, Soma! You who are yourself oblation we worship with oblation.

7. (Singer:) The wise one by his wisdom has put his mark¹⁶ upon the Heaven; without the use of force Varuṇa made flow the waters. Producing happiness, like wives, these glistening streams carry his color.¹⁶

8. They follow his supreme power (indriyám). He rules them who revel in their native power. Like subjects with loyal allegiance to their king, they have forsaken Vṛtra with loathing.

9. The companion of those full of loathing they have called a swan living in friendship with the Heavenly waters. By their mediation the poets have seen Indra dancing to the anuṣṭúbh.

A possible objection to this interpretation may be raised on the grounds that Varuṇa and Soma are pictured as receiving their invitations after they have already come over to the side of Indra and the Devas. This anachronism, however, is not real. Indra's words in vss. 5 and 6 are not to be understood as inducements or bribes to desert the Asuras; rather they are rewards for services already rendered.

¹⁵ The Asuras are great exponents of magic (*māyā*). See Segerstedt, *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 57, p. 178 ff., and Oldenberg, *Religion des Veda*, p. 163. Varuṇa is specifically noted for the use of *māyā*. See Segerstedt, *l. c.* p. 191.

¹⁶ *Rūpā* (form, here translated mark), and *várṇa* (color) are synonymous in this passage, both meaning distinguishing mark of ownership. Indra's color is perhaps the color of the Aryas in contrast with the color of the Dāsas, which would in that case be ascribed to Vṛtra and the Asuras. Cf. Rig Veda 10. 71. 2, where Soma throws off the *asuryā várṇa*.

PRĀṆA AND APĀṆA

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MUCH CONFUSION reigns in regard to the meaning of the two words *prāṇa* and *apāṇa*. One set of scholars, led by Böhtlingk, understands *prāṇa* to have meant originally inbreathing, and *apāṇa* to have meant outbreathing. Another school, following Deussen, insists that originally *prāṇa* meant outbreathing and *apāṇa* inbreathing. All agree that in later times these two words may mean air located and functioning in the upper and lower parts of the body respectively. The object of this paper is to inquire what grounds there are for supposing that the words ever have meanings different from their current meanings.

First, the words may be considered from an etymological standpoint. It is always assumed that *prāṇa* and *apāṇa* were the first of the group of breath-words to appear, and that, consequently, whenever they are used together, they mean inbreathing and outbreathing. This is a mere assumption which has no evidence to support it. On the contrary, the evidence is against it. Of the five breath-words, *prāṇa* alone appears a few times in the R̥g-Veda; *apāṇa* is not found, but the compound verb *apāṇīti* is found a single time in a very obscure passage. The word *prāṇa* seems to have the general meaning of breath, which it may always express. The other four words, *apāṇa*, *vyāṇa*, *samāṇa*, and *udāṇa*, appear simultaneously in the Atharva and Yajur Vedas. If then, *prāṇa* and *apāṇa* mean inbreathing and outbreathing, what sort of breathing does the equally old *vyāṇa*, to say nothing of *samāṇa* and *udāṇa*, represent? It is nowhere suggested that *vyāṇa*, which is very common in the Vedas, means holding the breath or non-breathing; it is always looked on as air, and usually moving air. The terms *samāṇa* and *udāṇa* are less common than the other words, yet they too mean moving air. This makes it doubtful whether we can translate the breath-words by breath, expiration, respiration, conspiracy, perspiration—inbreathing, outbreathing, upbreathing, throughbreathing, and the like—as Whitney does in his translation of the Atharva-Veda (AV. 10. 2. 13; 11. 8. 4; etc.).

Etymologically, it is extremely difficult to conceive of either *prāṇa* or *apāna* as meaning incoming breath. Both *pra* and *apa*, as is well known, imply outgoing activity, the distinction being, when they are contrasted, that *pra* implies a forward activity, and *apa* an activity directed backward. Apart from these breath-words, I know of no instance in composition where *apa* is translated 'in.' I believe that such a force is equally strange to *pra*, tho its use as an intensive would be more apt to lead to such a use than the narrower *apa*.

The related compound verbs add very little to clearing up the subject. The explanation *yaḥ prāṇīti sa prāṇaḥ, yo 'pāṇīti so 'pānaḥ* is typical of many passages, where any meaning that would suit the noun also suits the verb, and the usage is simply that of a denominative. A confusing element is sometimes introduced by the efforts of Hindu commentators to clear up the meanings of such words. Compounds of *śvas*, especially *ucchvas* and *nīḥśvas*, are used in the exegesis, and as both these words may mean either inbreathing or outbreathing, any interpretation based on them has to be received with a great deal of caution.

Leaving the etymological field, we may consider the breath words inductively. The current conception of the meaning of *prāṇa* and *apāna* is thus set forth in a Hindi glossary to the Amarakośa: *hṛdaya ke vāyu kā nām, prāṇa; gudā ke vāyu kā nām, apāna*, 'the name of the air in the heart (thoracic region), is *prāṇa*; the name of the air in the region of the lower intestines is *apāna*.' According to the same authority, *samāna* is located in the navel, *udāna* in the neck, and *vyāna* circulates thruout the entire body. Both the location and the functions of these airs are the same as what is taught in some of the earlier Upanishads, as will be shown later. It should be noted that these words are not primarily action-nouns here; they refer primarily to air located in different parts of the body. The problem before us is to find out how far these ideas, at least in regard to *prāṇa* and *apāna*, may be traced.

I wish first to quote a few references from the commentary on the Atharva Veda. On AV. 2. 16. 1 we find *prāḡ ūrdhva-mukho 'nīti ceṣṭata iti prāṇaḥ; apā 'nīti avānmukhaś ceṣṭata ity apānaḥ*, that is, *prāṇa*, directed upward, breathes forward; *apāna*, directed downward, breathes back or away. On AV. 7. 53 (55). 2 we find: *Prāṇīti prāṇaḥ, nāsikāviwarād bahir nirgacchan*

vāyuh. *Apānitīti, apānaḥ, hṛdayasya adhobhāge saṁcaran vāyuh*. That is, 'Prāṇa is the air which passes out thru the nostrils; *apāna* is that which circulates in the part below the heart (or the lower part of the heart).' This seems to be the fundamental distinction thruout. The heart is the center, and directional prefixes *pra* and *apa* indicate the direction taken by the respective breaths, with the heart as a center. In the commentary on AV. 18. 2. 46, *prāṇa* is described in essentially the same way. It further says, *antar gacchan (vāyuh) apānaḥ*. If the commentator had meant that *apāna* was incoming breath, he would probably have said *āsaran* instead of *gacchan*, in order to balance the *nīhsaran* used in connection with *prāṇa*. Moreover he follows by describing *vyāna* as in between, *madhyasthaḥ*, breathing the food to all parts of the body. Hence we have as before, *prāṇa* in the upper part of the body, going forth from the heart as a center, *apāna* within the lower parts of the body, and *vyāna* in between them. *Antar* must be taken here to refer to the bowel region; cf. *antra*, intestine.

The scholiast on T. S. 1. 6. 3. 3 has. *Eka eva vāyuh śarīragatasthūnabhedāt kuryabhedāc ca prāṇādīnāmabhir bhidyate. Sthānabhedāḥ kaiścid uktaḥ*:

Hṛdī prāṇo gude 'pānaḥ samāno nābhisaṁsthithaḥ

Uḍānaḥ kaṇṭhadeśastho, vyānaḥ sarvaśarīragaḥ. iti.

Ucchvāsaniḥśvāsū prāṇavyāpāraḥ. Malamūtrayor adhaḥpātānam apānavyāpāraḥ: 'A single air penetrating the body is distinguished by *prāṇa* and other names according to difference in locality and function. Concerning difference in locality it is said by some:

Prāṇa is located in the heart, *apāna* in the lower intestines, and *vyāna* in the navel; *udāna* is located in the region of the throat, *vyāna* penetrates the entire body.

The function of *prāṇa* is inbreathing and outbreathing. The function of *apāna* is the ejection of ordure and urine.' Certainly the meanings of the two words are brot out very distinctly here. The passage in T. S. 1. 1. 6 is a little less clear, but the meaning can be harmonized with this. But Caland, in *ZDMG* 1901 pp. 261 ff., does not do this—he is busy trying to prove that *apāna* means inbreathing. He also quotes from Rudradatta on Āpas. Śrāuta Sūt. 12. 8. 6. *Prāṇatā, bahirgatavāyunā; apānatā,*

pratyāhrtavāyuna. The meaning is not that *apāna* is inbreathing, but that it is the functioning of air which has been drawn within the body. Caland fails to note that the very next words are *vyānatā, madhye dhārayatā*, indicating that *vyāna* is placed between the two other airs. His other citations tend to prove that *apāna* is air located in the abdominal regions rather than air entering the lungs. In his anxiety to prove his thesis, he takes *niḥśvasati* to mean inbreathing, but *anuniḥśvasati* to mean outbreathing. He notes tho that *avāniti* is used in the sense of *apāniti* (as it is in Ś. B.) Of course this makes the case stronger for considering *apāna* as the abdominal breath.

Deussen, trying to prove that *apāna* is inbreathing, relies on a single passage from Śaṅkara. Manifestly, before accepting this we ought to examine all the references of Śaṅkara to this word. His scholion on Praśna Up. 4. 3 throws no light on the subject. But on Ch. Up. 5. 13. 1, 3, he describes *prāṇa* as the special air located in the forward chamber of the heart and breathing forward, while *apāna* is in the posterior chamber and breathes downward, and carries off the excrements. It may be mentioned here that heart, *hṛdaya*, is a term of wide significance in the Upanishads, including the lungs and probably some other organs as well as the heart. There is no other word for the human lungs in all Upanishad literature.

On Brh. Ār. Up. 1. 5. 3 Śaṅkara teaches that *prāṇa*, as an activity of the heart, functions in the mouth and nose; *apāna* functions downward, carrying off the excrements. With these statements agree his comments on Brh. Ār. Up. 3. 4. 1; 3. 9. 26; Praśna 3. 4. 5; 4. 3; Kaṭha 5. 3.

The scholiast on Ch. Up. 1. 3. 3 is the one on which Deussen relies. It reads. *Yad vai puruṣaḥ prāṇiti mukhānāsikābhyām vāyur bahir niḥsārayati sa prāṇākhyo vāyor vṛttiviśeṣaḥ. Yad apāniti apaśvasati tābhyām eva antarākaraṣati vāyur so 'pāno 'pānākhyo vṛttih*. It seems reasonable to suggest that this passage ought to be interpreted in the light of what the same writer clearly says in other places, and that we ought to understand *antar* here to refer to drawing the air into the interior of the body, and not to have reference to mere inhaling. To do this will be doing no violence to the meaning of the particle or the passage.

Turning to the Upanishads, which are the most important writings for our purpose, we take first the late Yoga Upanishads. These recognize from five to fourteen special breaths, to each of which a name is given and a function assigned. In many cases imaginary arterial systems have been devised wherein these airs circulate. *Prāṇa* is always the chief breath, being just what we mean by breath in English. *Apāna* is regularly a special air (*vāyuvīśeṣaḥ*) which carries off the excrements. *Prāṇa* is in the heart, mouth and nose; it goes to the navel and there meets with *apāna*, which circulates in the lower intestines, thighs, abdomen, and lower parts of the body generally. (Śāṇḍ. 1. 4; Śrīj. 4. 23 ff.; Triś. 75, and numerous others.) The airs meet in the navel, instead of the heart, in these books, because to the yogins the navel, and not the heart, is the center of the body and the system of breaths. Very numerous passages speak of drawing up *apāna* and uniting it with *prāṇa*, thus restraining both—one of the chief exercises in Yoga.

The Atharvaṇa Upanishads, published by Roer and translated by Deussen, form an older class than those just mentioned. They have less to say about the breaths than either the earlier or the later Upanishads. Still, the locality of the breaths is discussed in Amṛtabindu 35 ff. *Prāṇa* is in the *hṛdaya*, or heart and lungs, *apāna* in the *gudā* or lower intestinal region. *Samāna* is in the navel, *udāna* in the neck, *vyāna* diffused thruout the body. All the other statements in these Upanishads conform to this classification. For instance. *apāna* is used in Garbha 1 for the rectum, and in Saṁnyāsa for the navel, showing how fixed was the idea that the air *apāna* dwelt in the lower part of the body.

Taking up an older class of Upanishads, we find a description of the vital airs in Mait. 2. 6. Prajāpati tries to enter the body, but can not do so until he divides himself into the five vital airs. Of these, *prāṇa* is the one which rises upward, *ūrdhvam utkrāmati*. *Apāna* moves about below—*avāṇ saṁkrāmati*. *Apāna* can not mean inbreathing here, for it is said to receive the refuse of the food eaten. It is evident that the directional prefixes *pra* and *apa* are here used with relation to the heart; *prāṇa* rises above it and *apāna* circulates below it. The very earliest systematic description of the breaths is found in Praśna 2. 3, and is quite similar to the above. *Prāṇa* as king gives

orders to the other breaths, assigning them to different parts of the body. He retains for himself the seven openings of the head, mouth, nose, eyes, and ears, assigns to *apāna* the lowest parts of the body, *pāyu* and *upastha*. The other airs are treated as usual.

It is clear therefore that in the time of Praśna, which is fairly early, *prāṇa* meant air in the parts of the body anterior to and above the heart, while *apāna* meant air below and posterior to it. Reasons for this were twofold. First vital activities were supposed to be carried on by air. Because the functions of the stomach, bowels, and kidneys were so different from those of the lungs, the air operating in these parts was considered a different one from that operating in the upper part of the body. Second, air or gas is actually present in the viscera, and we can not imagine a time when the Hindus were not cognizant of the fact. *Apāniti* is just the word we should expect for the passage of this air; it was so used and no other word seems to have been used. It would seem that the movements of the abdomen connected with breathing were associated with *apāna*, while the observation of the settling of the abdomen after death, the activity of the bowels, and other phenomena occurring after the cessation of respiration—things easily noted in connection with both human beings and sacrificial animals—would have fixed the idea, in an earlier age than that of the Upanishads, that this special air was a peculiarly vital one, and carried on its activities, at least in some cases, even after *prāṇa* had departed, and hence was in a measure independent of it.

In this connection we may note Ait. Up. 1. 4; 2. 4; one of the oldest, if not the oldest, of the Upanishads. *Prāṇa* bursts forth from the nostrils of the primal man. From the navel comes forth *apāna*, and from *apāna* death. From this same Upanishad we learn that Prajāpati tried to grasp food with *prāṇa* and various organs, but was unable to do so. He succeeded with *apāna*. So we find the idea fixed at the beginning of the Upanishad period, that *prāṇa* is the air in the nasal region, and *apāna* the air in the abdominal region.

In no literature older than Praśna is there a systematic description of the breaths, but there are many valuable hints. Katha 3. 3 can be satisfactorily explained only on the basis of what has been said above. *Ūrdhvaṁ prāṇam unnayati, apānam*

pratyag asyati, madhye vāmanam āsinam, viśve devā upāsate. It is evident that this dwarf whom all the gods worship is seated in the midst of the body, the heart, sending *prāṇa* forward, and *apāna* in the opposite direction.

Both Brh. Ār. and Ch. recognize the five breaths, but do not try to define them. Their indirect testimony confirms what the later Upanishads testify, since in several passages *prāṇa* is correlated with directional words which mean upwards or forwards, while *apāna* is always associated with words meaning downward or back, implying that these breaths function in those directions. The disputed passage in Brh. Ār. Up. 3. 2. 2 is the only one in the entire range of Upanishad literature which does not agree with the idea that *apāna* is the breath in the lower or abdominal parts. Deussen relies on it as his chief passage in proving that *apāna* means inbreathing. The passage is, *prāṇo vai grahah, so 'pānātigrāheṇa grhīto 'pāneṇa hi gandhān jighrati.* Even Deussen is compelled to admit that this passage is corrupt, and the mistake is not due to the original writer (*Philosophy of the Upanishads*, Eng. Trans. pp. 277, 278). The reasons for emending the passage are, first, it does not conform to the norm of the seven otherwise exactly similar passages immediately following this. Second, it makes *apāna* mean both sense of smell and odor, which is nonsense. Third, as the passage opens with *prāṇa* as a *graha* or sense, *prāṇa* must necessarily do the smelling. Fourth, it identifies *prāṇa* and *apāna*; this may be done when *apāna* is one of the five *prāṇas* but at no other time. Hence Boettlingk, on grounds independent of the meaning of *prāṇa* and *apāna*, correctly emends the passage by supplying *gandheṇa* in the first and *prāṇeṇa* in the second place where *apāna* appears in the above citation. This makes *prāṇa* the breath which presides over smelling, agreeing with Kaus. 3. 6. 7, which states that by *prāṇa* one attains all odors. Ch. 1. 3. 2 also states that the nasal *prāṇa* smells both good and bad odors.

Śaṅkara's explanation from the comm. on Brh. Ār. Up. is instructive, and tells us how such a passage might be preserved. He begins by saying, as he does on Ch. 1. 7. 1, and Kena 8, that, as a matter of fact, *prāṇa* is the sense of smell—*prāṇa iti ghrāṇam ucyate.* He then goes on to say that as odor is conveyed by *apāna*, *apāna* is used here instead of odor. Then by

implied metonymy, since *some* odor is *apāṇa*, it is said that one smells all odors by *apāṇa*. This is a characteristic bit of Hindu mental gymnastics.

The conclusion from the Upanishad passages is that, except in this one questioned and undoubtedly corrupt passage, *prāṇa* always means thoracic air or breath, and *apāṇa* abdominal air or breath. The heart, or in some cases the navel, is the center from which breath activities are reckoned.

Not much can be learned from the Sūtras. Pār. Grh. Sūt. 1. 19. 4. quoted by Caland to prove that *apāṇa* means inbreathing, is better interpreted in the manner here suggested. Making *prāṇa* mean outbreathing and saying that one enjoys food with it, is nonsense. *Prāṇa* operating above the heart and swallowing, and *apāṇa* producing smell, give clearer sense.

Passages in Aitareya Brāhmaṇa agree with this. Others in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa are of the same tenor. In Ś. B. 7. 1. 2. 14 the *avāṇ prāṇas* clearly exercise excretory functions. *Avāṇ prāṇa* in this book is equivalent to *apāṇa*. *Prāṇa* enters into the other airs. (11. 5. 3. 8-10.) This implies that the air for all the breaths is drawn into the body as *prāṇa*. In many cases the airs are correlated with directional words, *prāṇa* always being associated with words implying a locality before the center, and *apāṇa* with words implying a locality back or below. 8. 5. 1. 14 is quite clear when *prāṇa* is understood as thoracic and *apāṇa* abdominal breath. For with *prāṇa* one drives off the evil in front and with *apāṇa* the evil behind. The only place in the Brāhmaṇas which is not in harmony with this is Jaim. Up. Br. 1. 18. 5, where we have the expression that one smells with *apāṇa*. This occurs in a version of the several times repeated story of the gods overcoming the *asuras* by singing the *udgītha* with *prāṇa*. As this account differs in this respect from the accounts in Brh. Ār. Up. and Ch. Up. as well as from another account of the same event in the Jaim. Up. Br. itself, it is open to grave suspicion. Otherwise it may be explained by the same sort of verbal gymnastics we have seen Śankara use. In another passage in Jaim. Up. Br. we must translate with Oertel, 'He does not exhale an evil odor with *apāṇa*', and not with Caland, 'He does not smell an evil odor' (JAOS 15. 243; ZDMG 1901. 261 ff. .

Understanding *prāṇa* to mean thoracic and *apāṇa* abdominal

breath makes several passages in the Atharva Veda clearer. Thus 13. 3. 4, *yah prāṇena dyāvāpṛthivī tarpayati, apānena samudrasya jāṭharam yah piparti*, should be translated, 'Who satisfies heaven and earth with the breath from his lungs, who fills the belly of the sea with his abdominal breath.' Since *vyāna* is quite common in this Veda, and all the other common breaths are known substantially as in later times, there is every reason for thinking that the breath words were defined in the time of the Atharva Veda substantially as they are today. The only passages which give any trouble with this interpretation are those passages where *apāna* is used in the plural, but this trouble would occur whatever meaning is given to *apāna*.

The conclusion is that *prāṇa* and *apāna* should consistently be translated as thoracic and abdominal breaths respectively. This is to be maintained because of the etymological signification of the words, referring respectively to air anterior to and posterior to the heart; because the assumption that one word means inbreathing and the other outbreathing has nothing to warrant it; because when these meanings are suggested, equally great scholars take opposite views, suggesting that both sides may be wrong; because, after *prāṇa*, the other four breath words appear simultaneously, with well defined functions and localities; because these meanings are explicitly attested by both old and recent authorities, distinctly implied in the most ancient writings, and nowhere seriously contradicted; and because they fit practically every instance where the words occur, and do not involve one in contradictions and changes.

TWO POPULAR RELIGIOUS POEMS IN THE AZERBAIJANI DIALECT

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THE STRONG POETIC SPIRIT of the Persians finds an opportunity for expression in the month of Moharram, when all Shiah Mohammedans mourn the death of Imam Hussein, with his seventy followers, on the plain of Kerbela. During the first ten days of the month, meetings are held every evening in mosques and private houses, where weeping companies listen to recitations of the life and death of the martyrs, embroidered with an infinite variety of fantastic legend. On Ashura, the tenth day of the month, a play portraying the whole tragedy of Kerbela is produced in the courtyards of the mosques. In all these plays and recitations, poetry has a prominent part. At the evening meetings, a *rūz-i-khān*¹ ('reciter of misfortunes') often tells the story in a poetic version of his own; or he will declaim a famous poem—perhaps the lament of Hussein's wife Zeinab over the death of her husband. The passion-play is all in poetry and is constantly changing. There are set speeches in Persian and Arabic for the principal characters, but the minor parts are changed from year to year and from place to place at the will of the producers of the play.

In Tabriz, although the people speak a dialect of Turkish called Azerbaijani, the poetry of the *rūz-i-khānīs* and of the plays is Persian, a language of greater dignity than that used by the people. There is, however, a large body of popular Azerbaijani poetry composed for use at this time. During the first days of Moharram, the streets are crowded with religious processions: confused masses of men and boys beating their breasts with their hands or their backs with steel chains, and cutting their foreheads with knives, and others dressed to represent characters in the tragedy of Kerbela. Nearly all are shouting or chanting. A procession is arranged from each district of the city, and every year the different districts vie with one another in the composi-

¹ روضة خوان; this word, in universal use, is a corruption of رزية خوان.

tion of new poems in Azerbaijani to be recited as their processions march through the streets. Sometimes one of these poems will catch the fancy of the crowd and will become a feature of the processions, familiar to all and recited year by year. When I was in Tabriz in the autumn of 1915, I noted down two which had thus become popular. I give the words of the original in Roman letters, as I took them from the mouth of a Tabrizi *Mirza*, rendering his pronunciation as closely as I can.

I. ZUL JENĀH

Zūl Jenāḥ ('the Two-Winged') was Imam Hussein's favorite horse. It had belonged to Mohammed himself, who left it to Ali, from whom it was handed down to Hassan and to Hussein. On the tragic day of Kerbela, when all his followers had been killed, Hussein mounted Zūl Jenāḥ and rode out alone against his enemies. He slew great numbers of them, but in the end was overcome by his wounds and fell from his horse. Zūl Jenāḥ stood by its master's body and, lowering its head, dipped its mane and forelock in the Imam's blood. It then galloped off to the place of the tents, where the women and children were waiting for the outcome of the battle. By neighing and nodding its head toward the place where Hussein lay, it conveyed the news of his death.

In the procession, Zūl Jenāḥ is represented by a white horse covered with a red-spotted white cloth. (The red spots, of course, represent the blood from the wounds of Hussein.) The horse is accompanied by a number of men who recite the following verses, gazing at it with expressions of deepest grief and anxiety. After the recitation of the poem, they gather about the horse to stroke and fondle it.

<i>Nādān sheihē chēkērsēn</i>	Why do you neigh,	[battle,
<i>Gūz meidānē tēkērsēn</i>	Why do you fix your eye on the field of	
<i>Māgār bābām ūlūb dī</i>	Unless our father is dead?	
<i>Sēnna qurbān Zul Jēnāḥ</i>	May we be your sacrifice, Zūl Jenāḥ!	

<i>Nādān kākīlun yānī</i>	Why is your mane on the side
<i>Ālvān olmush bīr yānī</i>	Stained with color on one side,
<i>Māgār bābām ūlūb dī</i>	Unless our father is dead?
<i>Sēnna qurbān Zul Jēnāḥ</i>	May we be your sacrifice, Zūl Jenāḥ!

<i>Fātima nūr-i aini</i>	'The light of Fatima's eyes,
<i>Imām-i-sāqāl aini</i>	The leader of both worlds, [Hussein.
<i>Ājāb gītdün Husseinī</i>	It is strange that you have (not) brought
<i>Sēnna qurbān, Zul Jēnāh!</i>	May we be your sacrifice, Zūl Jenāh!'

II. THE LION OF KERBELA

When Hussein and his followers lay dead and dying on the field, their slayers were about to ride over them, trampling them under their horses' feet. But Fizeh Khātūn, a negress who had been the slave of Fatima, prayed that a lion might be sent to protect them. The lion came, and the frightened horses ran from it, refusing to trample on the corpses of the martyrs. Every year in Tabriz a lion is carried about in the Moḥarram processions and is treated with reverence.² In accord with the usual practice of the Persians, who with childlike faith are ready to accept the commonest thing as emblem of a greater, the 'lion' is usually a moth-eaten wolf-skin, badly stuffed. When I first saw it, I took it for a dog! Many poems are addressed to the lion, of which the following is one of the best known:

<i>Ei shīr, yētish būgun hērāyē</i>	O Lion, come today to our help,
<i>Imdād eile āl-i Mustāfāyē</i>	Help the children of Muṣṭafa!

<i>Ei shīr bū gunde bāsha vur yān</i>	O Lion, strike your head today, burn it!
<i>Māhluq-i-jēhān olub hērāsān</i>	The people of the world are terrified.
<i>Ekbēr di olān qānīne gāltān</i>	This is Akbar, stained with blood.
<i>Ot sūldi māqām-i-āmbēyāyē</i>	He set fire to the place of the prophets. ³
<i>Ei shīr, yētish būgun hērāyē,</i>	O Lion, come today to our help,
<i>Imdād eile āl-i Mustāfāyē</i>	Help the children of Muṣṭafa!

<i>Ei shīr bū Qāsēm-i-jēvān dur</i>	O Lion, this is the young Qāsim,
<i>Āldā yākhīlān hānūsi qān dur</i>	The henna which colors his hand is blood.
<i>Āflākē chēhub nā āl āmān dur</i>	What a cry 'Alas!' has started to the skies!
<i>Olād-i Ali dūshūb bēlāyē</i>	The children of 'Alī have met disaster.
<i>Ei shīr, yētish būgun, etc.</i>	O Lion, come today, etc.

² I have never seen the lion represented either in Teheran or Hamadan, where I have seen many Moḥarram processions.

³ 'He set fire to the place of the prophets'; i. e. his death was a great sorrow to the prophets.

- Gel qātli-gihē bir güzēr eile* Come, pass by the place of slaughter,
Nā'sh-i shēhādāyē nāzār eile Look at the corpses of the martyrs.
Git shīr-i khodāye khābēr eile Go to the Lion of God, tell him.⁴
Ārz eile ke gelsun Kērbēlāyē Beg him to come to Kerbela.
Ei shīr, yētish būgun, etc. O Lion, come today, etc.
- Bū Asgher-i tiŧ-i shīr khārēh* This child 'Asqar, a nursling,
Peikan boghazun kolubdi pāreh The arrow has torn his throat.
Āhvāle-i-nē eile bir nāzārēh Look at his condition.
Sapdi babasi qānun hāvāyē His father threw his blood into the air.⁵
Ei shīr, yētish būgun, etc. O Lion, come today, etc.
- Bākh Zeinābē kalumyup pēnāhī* Look at Zainab, shelterless.
Shimr ot lāde jumle khaimegāhi Shimr fired all the tents.
Ulduldūler shāhi kām pēnāhī They killed the king who had no shelter.
La'nat beile qom-i bi heūyē Curses on the shameless people!
Ei shīr, yētish būgun, etc. O Lion, come today, etc.
- Bākh kuh-i Mināde ākhdi qānlār* Look at the hill of Mināh, flowing with
 [blood.⁶
- Chokh nōhēlēr etdi nohe khānlār* The mourners have made many wailings.
Qāsem toyena gelen jevānlār The young men coming to Qāsim's wedding.⁷
Mehman di hami bū qan āzāyē Are all guests at this bloody mourning.
Ei shīr, yētish būgun hērāyē, O Lion, come today to our help,
Imdād eile āl-i Mustāfāyē Help the children of Muṣṭafa!

⁴ The Lion of God = 'Ali.

⁵ The story is that Hussein took the baby 'Asqar in his arms and went to his enemies to beg that he might at least get water from the river for this child. For reply, an arrow was shot which lodged in the infant's throat. As the blood poured forth, the father caught some of it in his hand and tossed it in the air, calling on God to witness the cruel deed.

⁶ The plain of Kerbela, flowing with the blood of the martyrs, is here compared to the hill of Mināh, near Mecca, where each pilgrim sacrifices a lamb or a sheep.

⁷ The 10th of Moharram was the day of Qāsim's wedding.

PRE-ARYAN ORIGINS OF THE PERSIAN PERFECT

ALBERT J. CARNOY

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

THE DISCOVERIES OF recent years tend more and more to demonstrate that the invasion of Asia Minor by the Indo-Europeans was a slow process of infiltration which began at a much earlier period than is generally admitted. In his startling little book, *The War and the Bagdad Railway*, Dr. Jastrow has emphasized the composite nature of the Hittite nation. While the reading of their inscriptions by Hrozny and other scholars has almost conclusively shown that they spoke an Indo-European language, their physical type is clearly Mongoloid, as is shown by their representations both on their own sculptures and on Egyptian monuments. They had high cheek-bones and retreating foreheads in the manner of the Tartar races (Jastrow, *op. cit.*, p. 37). This is true in our times of the Armenians, who much resemble the ancient Hittites, and who are still in immediate contact with the remnants of the same races in the Caucasus. There is every reason to believe that in Kurdistan and in the Median mountains a similar amalgamation took place. The constitution of the Median empire was a sudden one, but Aryan tribes were for centuries in contact with the Assyro-Babylonians before the times when the Medes became really dangerous. Their power was preceded by that of the Chaldees, whose language, according to Hommel (*Grund. der Geog. u. Gesch. des alten Orients.*, p. 38 f.), shows resemblances with those of the Northern Caucasian peoples. These Chaldees, who lived around Ararat and Lake Urumiah, were gradually absorbed by the Indo-Europeans. Their Aryanization was preceded by a period of amalgamation, during which the worship of their national god Chaldi became associated with that of the Iranian deity Bagmashtu (Prašek, *Gesch. Med. u. Pers.*, p. 65 ff.). The appearance of the Persians in Southern Iran was not sudden, either, and cannot have taken place without the absorption of Elamitic populations. Till the ethnology of these important regions is more advanced, it will not be altogether devoid of interest to look for pre-Aryan and more specifically Caucasian influence on the language of the Ira-

nians, the more so because one is invited to that kind of research by the existence of traces of pre-Aryan languages, both in the languages of India (the cerebral consonants, the nominal constructions, etc.), and in Armenian (the plurals in *kh* or in *er*, the alteration of the consonantic system, the loss of the genders, etc.).

The most remarkable innovation in the morphology of Old and Modern Persian, as compared to Indo-European, is the creation of a periphrastic perfect.

As is well known, the Slavonic languages have also developed a participial perfect in *-lo*: Russ. *znał, znala, znalo* 'I knew' (the verb *byť* 'to be' being understood). But in this formation the participle is active, while in Iranian the construction is originally passive. Its beginnings are found in the Old Persian inscriptions. Thus, Bh. 1. 27: *imad tyad manā kartam pasāvaḍ yaθā xšāyathiyah abavam*, 'this is what was done by me, since I became king,' instead of 'this is what I did' or 'I have done.'—Bh. 2. 27: *avadāšām hamaranam kartam*, 'there the battle made by them (was).'

Frequent in Pahlavi are sentences like Av. I. 1: *Zartūšt dīn dar gihān ravāk bi-kart*, 'by Zoroaster the law, going (i. e. available) in the world, (was) made.'—Ib. VI. 3: *Apam pursīt men (=az) Srōš*, 'and by me asked (was) from Sraoša.'

The genitive case is used for the agent, a circumstance which contributed not a little to the victory of that case as universal case in Modern Persian.

This introduction of a passive construction as the normal expression of the perfect is quite isolated in the history of the Indo-European languages, in which the tendency is definitely against the passive voice.

This circumstance makes more noteworthy the coincidence that this type of construction happens to be quite general in the non-Aryan languages bordering on Iran. The Caucasian languages, namely, use a passive construction as the perfect of transitive verbs. In the specimens of the language of the Avars given by Friedrich Müller (*Grund. Sprachw.* III., 2^{te} Abt., p. 75), one finds, e. g.: *Muḥammed-isa b-atšana dije ungo 'etšh*, 'by Mohammed brought to me four apples (were)=Mohammed brought me four apples.'—*Allah-as ha-b-una dunial*, 'by God created world=God created the world.' In Hyrcanian, one says

(*ib.*, p. 117): *hit huni dawlaši-w iqulli*, 'he by thee rich made is = thou makest him rich.' In Nakhtshuoi the syntax is very similar (*ib.*, p. 175): *dā-s šien bē-iš-na xallar luo*, 'by father to his children bread is given = the father gives bread to his children.' In Georgian (South Caucasie), besides active turns like 'I hear, we hear,' we find passive constructions with the dative, 'there is hearing to me, there is hearing to us,' etc. (*ib.*, p. 199).

While instrumentals or datives are thus generally used for the agent, the genitive also is found, e. g., in Kasikumük (*ib.*, p. 94): *tšha xūtsūnal tšhusa xatri daxlai duri*, 'of the neighbor the new houses are sold = the neighbor sold the new houses.'—*tanal arsnal tsaba nits biukhundi*, 'of his son an ox was slain—his son slew an ox.'

This genitival turn is the nearest to the Persian perfect. At first sight the use of the genitive in these turns might seem surprising. Therefore a few words to justify it in the light of general linguistics will not be out of place here. The psychological explanation of the usage is to be found in the perfective nature of the construction. It refers to an achieved state of things, to a situation which benefits somebody, generally the agent who produced it. It appears to him, therefore, as an element at his disposal, a gain, a possession. Many languages have an active equivalent of this turn of expression, in which the verb 'to have' is used to express the relation of the subject to the state of things which he has created for his own benefit.

This, of course, is the origin of the Vulgar Latin and Romance perfect. This verbal form developed from a construction that hardly suggests a tense or an aspect of the verb. It is found in various languages. Originally it merely refers to a state of things, favorable or detrimental, with which a person is confronted. In Latin it occurred in sentences like these: Cic. Fam. 9. 2. 3, *habet navem paratam*.—Cic. Fam. 2. 18. 2, *tres fratres . . . te nolo habere iratos*. At this stage, the construction might be considered as a special form of the so-called 'applicative voice,' found in many languages and presenting a fact in reference to the person *interested* in it (pragmatic construction). Soon it comes to be used in cases in which the subject was the producer of the state of things concerned, as: Columella 5. 10.

16. *Si iam arborem satam habueris . . . serito.*—Marc. Empir.
25. 172. 41, . . . *ut paratum habeas medicamentum.*

In the modern languages, as is well known, this construction has developed into a regular past tense in which only the production of the action is considered. In French *j'ai cueilli des fleurs*, the point is no longer that picked flowers are at my disposal, but that I have actually some time ago achieved the action of picking flowers, though in *les fleurs que j'ai cueillies* the congruence of the participle with the noun is a survival of the older point of view.

It is interesting to observe that, in Romance, we find constructions with 'to have' analogous to these which we quoted from Latin writers, and that they also show a tendency to develop into a perfect. French *j'ai une dent gatée, j'ai deux maisons brûlées*, and Spanish *tengo a mi madre enferma*, 'my mother is sick,' are sentences referring to situations and not to real possessions. In Spanish, the *tener*-construction may be used with a participle in a manner that borders on a perfect and recalls *ut paratum habeas medicamentum* of Marcus Empiricus. Thus, *tengo las cartas escritas*, 'I have the letters written'; *tiene la lampara encendida*, 'he has the lamp lighted.'

This shows that it is quite in conformity with our linguistic instinct to regard a durable state of things, resulting from the activity of an agent, as a possession of that agent, so that the use of 'to have' in that case is quite normal and persists when the construction has become a mere perfect. The use of a genitive in Persian is the exact passive equivalent of that active turn. Hence, interesting as this circumstance is from the psychological point of view, it does not constitute the originality of the Iranian periphrastic perfect. This lies in its passive nature. And to it there are parallels at hand, not in the Indo-European languages, but precisely in those of the non-Aryan tribes which preceded the Iranians in the regions occupied by them at the beginning of their history. It is, therefore, not unreasonable to suppose that the development of this construction was promoted by the ancient habits of those who mingled with the Aryan invaders.¹

¹ It might be objected that in classical Sanskrit it is not uncommon to find constructions resembling the 'was done by me' of Old Persian inscrip-

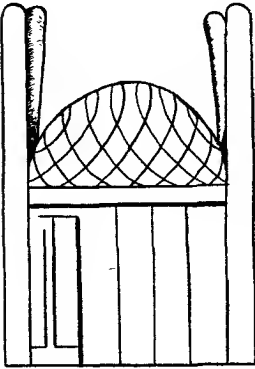
tions. The latter turn, instead of being typical of Persian, and due to a special influence, would then appear as only one aspect of a general tendency in the Indo-Iranian languages. Since, however, these expressions are not found in the Vedic language, there is a wide gap which makes it difficult to admit that there is a connection between the Iranian and the Indian constructions, unless one believes that the germs of the development are old and have worked in some underground way for centuries. Moreover, the passive turns in Sanskrit never was so generally prevalent as was the case with the Persian perfect. They are evidently only an aspect of the nominal-participial construction, which became so frequent in classical Sanskrit that in some texts (e. g., the Sūtras) one often finds long passages with no other personal verbs than the copula *asti* or *bhavati*; and even the copula may be understood.

This extensive use of participles must needs in many cases have favored the passive turn as the most convenient. This construction therefore should be considered merely as a secondary development of the participial construction. The exceptional success of this rather clumsy type of syntax in late Sanskrit is generally ascribed to the influence of the pre-Aryan languages of India. The absence of relatives and their replacement by participles are characteristic features of those languages. Friedrich Müller (*op. cit.*, III. 1. p. 197) gives in support of this statement sentences in Dravidian such as *avan gaṇḍa bēdzinām*, 'he having seen spoke'; *nān anda ppāḍ-attei kkeṭṭu vādzittu-v-crudinēn*, 'he this lecture having heard and read, wrote.'

BRIEF NOTES

The oldest monumental evidence of a dome-structure

Prof. C. C. Torrey in a lecture delivered on December 7, 1918 in the University Museum at Philadelphia on 'The Glories of Mohammedan Art,' gave as a very early example of dome-structures in the Near East an Assyrian monumental representation of such a structure. I have since found an instance of such a structure which reaches back to pre-dynastic times in Egypt. I refer the reader to Jean Capart's *Les débuts de l'art en Égypte*,



pl. 1, facing page 223. In the upper right corner of the 'Palette en schiste avec scènes de chasse' is the representation of one of the oldest known temples in Egypt. The palette itself may be dated, roughly speaking, about 4000 B. C. I give here an enlarged copy of the interesting temple-structure, which plainly shows the dome. Notice that the lines in the dome represent the material out of which the structure is made, i. e., reeds. But this material is hardly original to this kind of structure, and in my

opinion the dome must have originated in a country where there existed much rainfall and in which the mason's material consisted primarily of clay. It seems that an eminently practical view-point invented this dome-form. In order to protect the roof more thoroughly against the down-pouring rain, the clay-roof instead of being made flat received this kind of form. No archaeological material from the country of the Euphrates and Tigris valley which would illustrate the occurrence of this structure also in that country has yet been discovered, but I may venture to say that it is not altogether impossible that the pre-dynastic Egyptian dome-structure ultimately goes back to Babylonia.

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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
MIDDLE WEST BRANCH OF THE
AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY

at the meeting at Urbana, Illinois, 1919

The third annual meeting of the Middle West Branch was held at the University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill., Feb. 28-March 1, 1919. In spite of the influenza which had caused the suspension of meetings of other learned societies and of the absence of some of our members in France, the following were present: Allen, Bloomfield, Breasted, Brown, Bittenwieser, Clark, Eiselen, Fay, Kelley, Luckenbill, Mercer, Molyneux, Morgenstern, Olmstead, Smith, Wolfenson, of whom fifteen came from out of town. Headquarters were established at the University Club, and the members were in constant touch during the entire meeting. The social side was unusually well developed. At noon on Friday, one of the University faculty entertained members interested in Indo-European subjects in honor of one of their number; at the same time, those interested in the Near East lunched informally together. The evening saw an informal dinner of those interested in the Bible. Saturday noon the local members entertained the visitors at luncheon. The Secretary-Treasurer gave a smoker Friday after the evening session. Finally, the local Menorah Society entertained the visiting Jewish members Saturday evening. Here too may be noted the inspection of the Oriental Museum, the Museum of Classical Art and Archaeology, and the Museum of European Culture, guided by their respective curators.

In the absence of certain scheduled speakers, those who spoke were granted ample time and there was in general animated discussion. As few of those on the program handed the secretary written abstracts, the report must be somewhat uneven. In the evening session of Friday, President Edmund J. James, of the University of Illinois, briefly welcomed the visiting members,

pointed out the surprising interest felt in the Middle West for eastern subjects, and described the beginning of Oriental work at the University.

Professor Morgenstern followed with the Presidential Address, 'World-Empire and World-Brotherhood.'

The conception of a world-empire was born in the minds of Assyrian kings. The monarchs from Tiglath-pileser IV to Ashurbanipal carried it to realization. But it was short-lived, as were its successors, the Neo-Babylonian world-empire, the Persian Empire, and those of Alexander and of the Seleucids. The Roman world-empire endured longer, but it perished eventually. The idea of world-empire was revived by Charlemagne in 800 A. D., and again by Otto I of Germany in 962, and from him descended in direct line to the Hohenzollerns. The idea of world-brotherhood and world-peace was conceived by the prophets of Israel, largely in answer to Assyrian and Babylonian conquest, and because of the realization of the role which it, a little state, was destined to play in history. It found its most complete and lofty expression in Isaiah 2, 2-4 and Micah 4, 1-4. Christianity, with its gospel of 'Peace on earth; good-will to men,' made the doctrine of world-brotherhood and world-peace universal, and the foundation of modern civilization. The ideal was passed to the United States, which championed it in all the deliberations and plans of the Allies. It has made us a nation with a conscience. It is the basic principle of the League of Nations idea, which our country has offered to the world as its solution of the problem of war and peace. Its only feasible program is that first advanced by Israel's earliest prophets.

The presidential address was followed by an elaborate illustrated discussion of the 'Antiquity of Man in the Orient,' by Professor J. H. Breasted of the University of Chicago, the President of the national organization.

The survey was almost entirely confined to Egypt, as little has been done elsewhere. The geology of Egypt was quite different in earliest times, and in the different levels can be found evidence of the various ages. The evolution of man can be traced step by step, from the earliest palaeolithic times to the beginning of written history.

In the field of Indo-European Studies, Professor Edwin W. Fay, University of Texas, discussed 'Phonetic and Morphological Notes in Sanskrit.'

Some nasals in the neuter plurals do not appear in the singular. Thurneysen thought they were derived from the nasals in the participle of the verb 'to be.' It is rather due to synchysis, a term preferable to syncretism, the mingling of two alternate endings.

Professor Geo. William Brown, Transylvania College, read a paper on 'The Source of Indian Philosophical Ideas.'

We cannot maintain the view that Indian life and that are almost entirely evolved from the culture of the Aryan invaders. Ethnology goes to show that the main element in the population was non-Aryan. Ancient commerce was carried on mainly with the non-Aryans. Early history reveals non-Aryan kingdoms on a par with those of the Aryan community. These things, as well as the usual analogy of history, lead us to expect that the non-Aryan mind must have contributed largely to Indian culture subsequent to the Aryan invasion. An investigation of the fundamentals of later Indian religion and philosophy tends to show that the present culture of India owes more to the non-Aryan than to the Aryan source. The fundamental conceptions of Indian philosophy, and therefore of Hinduism, are the universal presence of spirits in all things, animate and inanimate, and the transmigration of these spirits from one body to another. These are essentially animistic conceptions, and animism is, and, so far as all evidence goes to show, always has been the characteristic of the Dravidian peoples. The various schools of Indian philosophy evolved according to the views taken in regard to questions connected with the two fundamentals mentioned above. Are there many spirits, or is there only one, having multiform appearance? Nyāya and Sāṃkhya say there are many, Vedānta says there is but one. Is the non-spiritual part of the universe on an equality with the spiritual? Practically all agree that it is not, but divide on the degree or difference. Sāṃkhya says the universe is real, evolved from preexistent prakṛiti. Vaiśeṣika introduces atoms, which are also eternal. All these questions and their solutions are natural outgrowths of non-Aryan animism. Buddhism and Jainism are not really Aryan religions. They are rather Dravidian reactions against the Aryan ritual and system of nature gods. Writers on Indian religion and philosophy grudgingly admit that the fundamental things named above, and many other elements in modern Indian culture, come from the Dravidian side, but have never carried out their admissions to the logical and inevitable result. When this is done it is evident that for centuries Indian religion and philosophy have owed more to the Dravidians than to the Aryans, and that it is in their ideas that one must seek for the origins of Indian philosophy.

Two papers in which Indo-European scholars threw welcome light on Biblical problems furnish the transition to the Near East. Professor H. C. Tolman of Vanderbilt University sent a phonetic treatment of words occurring in Biblical Aramaic which seem clearly to be borrowed from Iranian sources.

'The Sandal Wood and Peacocks of Ophir' were shown, by Professor Walter E. Clark, University of Chicago, by means of a wealth of detail from the versions and through a study of trade conditions, to be impossible translations. The peacock was not known in the Near East until late, and there is no proof of direct trade with India at anything like so early a date.

Biblical subjects were also presented by Professor J. M. P. Smith, University of Chicago, and Professor Moses Bittenwieser, of Hebrew Union College. The former proved the 'Conservatism of Early Prophecy' by various passages, and showed how a change was necessitated by the failure of its political policy towards Assyria. The latter, in 'Blood Revenge and Burial Rites in Ancient Israel' (forwarded to the Editors), used the comparative method and the data available from the customs of early or primitive peoples. Professor G. L. Robinson, McCormick Theological Seminary, described the Land of Edom in some detail, the character of the country, and above all the roads. 'The Emphatic Sounds in the Semitic Languages' were discussed by Professor L. B. Wolfenson, University of Wisconsin, with illustrations from other languages, including Sanskrit. A plea was made for a rational method of teaching these sounds in the light of modern phonetic knowledge.

Professor S. A. B. Mercer, Western Theological Seminary, presented the main portions of a paper on 'Assyrian Morals,' which followed up his preceding studies on the morals of the Sumerians, Babylonians, and Egyptians.

Professor D. D. Luckenbill, University of Chicago, read a paper on 'Assyrian Treatment of Non-Combatants.'

Papers on modern phases were absent because of the presence of three of our members in Paris, but we were fortunate to have with us Dr. E. B. Haskell, for a quarter of a century a missionary in Salonika and Philippopolis, who described the Balkan situation informally. At the smoker, reconstruction in the Near East was discussed informally, following the lead of Professor F. H. Newell, University of Illinois, who has been in charge of the preliminary work of post-war reconstruction in Turkey.

Two brief business meetings were held. The secretary's report showed that the society was more than holding its own. On nomination from the floor, Professors Mercer, Smith, and Fay were elected a Nominating Committee. Professor Mercer reported for the Committee the following list of Nominations: President, Professor Leroy Waterman, University of Michigan; Vice President, Professor G. M. Bolling, Ohio State University; Secretary-Treasurer, Professor A. T. Olmstead, University of Illinois; Executive Committee, Professor Julian Morgenstern,

Hebrew Union College; Professor F. C. Eiselen, Garrett Biblical Institute. On motion of Professor Breasted, the nominations were approved. Professor Eiselen invited the members to meet next year with Northwestern University and Garrett Theological Institute. On motion of Professor Smith, this was accepted. Professor Wolfenson invited the members to meet with the University of Wisconsin the year following, but no formal motion was made. On motion of Professor Bittenwieser, the branch approved in principle a League of Nations. On motion of Professor Breasted, the branch expressed its thanks to the University of Illinois, to President James, and to the Secretary-Treasurer and Mrs. Olmstead, for the various hospitalities.

A. T. OLMSTEAD,

Secretary-Treasurer.

NOTES OF OTHER SOCIETIES, ETC.

The London *Times* of January 31 reports a paper read the evening before at the Society of Antiquaries by Captain R. Campbell Thompson on the excavations which he had conducted by orders of the War Office on behalf of the British Museum at Abu Shahrain in Mesopotamia, the ancient Eridu. Captain Thompson, who is connected with the British Expeditionary Force, started work in April, 1918. We quote as follows:

“The results were of the highest importance for Babylonian pre-history, which has hitherto been the subject of scant attention, owing to lack of evidence. Indeed, it is not uncommon to find historians hinting that there was no Neolithic period in Babylonia. However this may be, the very numerous chipped and ground celts and axeheads of stone and the large quantity of flakes, knives, etc., of flint, obsidian, and crystal found at Abu Shahrain show that the earliest inhabitants relied on stone for their weapons, particularly as no metal contemporary with these was discovered. But more important still is the pottery, which is of buff, wheel-turned clay, painted with geometric designs in black, exactly of the same kind as that occurring in the lowest stratum (20 to 25 metres depth) found at Susa by M. De Morgan,

proving that primitive men in both places were of the same character. Writing was unknown to the earliest men of Eridu, but their skill in working clay and stone shows that they were fairly civilized when they migrated thither from whatever may have been their earliest home. Lack of metals compelled them to make even their sickles of baked clay, and these occur so frequently as to show that the early men there depended greatly on cereals for their food, while the freshwater mussel shells appearing in low strata indicate that at that time the Euphrates, which must have flowed close by, was counted as a source of supply. It is probable, therefore, that these are relics of pre-Sumerian man, who occupied the lower part of Southern Mesopotamia before the Sumerian migration thither."

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY

AT THE MEETING IN PHILADELPHIA, PA., 1919

The annual sessions of the Society, forming its one hundred and thirty-first regular meeting, were held in Philadelphia, Pa., at the University of Pennsylvania and the Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning, on Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday of Easter Week, April 23, 24, and 25, 1919.

The following members were present at one or more of the sessions:

Abbott	DeLong	Jackson, Mrs.	Ogden
Abbott, Mrs.	Dougherty	Janvier	Peters
Albright	DuBose	Jastrow	Prince
Allard, Miss	Duncan	Jewett	Reider
Arnold	Edgerton, F.	Kent, R. G.	Reilly
Barret	Ember	Kukhi	Rudolph, Miss
Barton	Gellot	Kyle	Sanders
Bates, Mrs.	Gilpin, Miss	Linfield	Saunders, Mrs.
Bender	Gottheil	Lutz	Schoff
Benze	Grant	Margolis	Snyder
Bloomfield, M.	Grice, Miss	Martin	Sulzberger
Breasted	Grieve, Miss	Meek	Waterman
Brown, W. N.	Halper	Montgomery	Williams, T.
Butin	Haupt	Morgenstern	Wood, H.
Cadbury	Hoschander	Müller	Worrell
Campbell	Husik	Newell	
Chiera	Hussey, Miss	Nies, J. B.	
Clay	Jackson	Norton, Miss	[Total: 69]

THE FIRST SESSION

The first session was held on Wednesday afternoon, beginning at 3:10 P. M., in Price Hall, of the University of Pennsylvania Law School, the President, Professor Breasted, being in the chair.

As the Recording Secretaryship was vacant through the resignation of Dr. Haas, Professor R. G. Kent was appointed Recording Secretary for the meeting. The reading of the Proceedings

of the meeting in New Haven, 1918, was dispensed with, as they had already been published in the *JOURNAL* (38. 320-37). There being no corrections, they were approved as printed.

Professor Jastrow, as Chairman of the Committee on Arrangements, presented the report of the Committee in the form of a printed program. The following sessions were appointed for Thursday morning at half past nine, Thursday afternoon at a quarter to two, Friday morning at half past nine, and Friday afternoon at two. The session of Thursday afternoon was to be devoted to a special program, including the president's address, and two symposia, the first on the Need of a School of Living Oriental Languages, and the second on the Outlook for Oriental Studies in American Universities. The session of Friday afternoon was to be devoted to the presentation of papers on the historical study of religions, and papers of a more general character. It was announced that there would be an informal social gathering of the members at the Art Alliance, 1823 Walnut Street, at 8:30 P. M. on Wednesday; that the Provost of the University of Pennsylvania would entertain the members at luncheon in Houston Hall, on Thursday at 1 P. M.; that the annual Subscription Dinner would take place at the Art Alliance, on Thursday evening, at 7:00 P. M. (later changed to 7:30 P. M.); and that the Dropsie College would entertain the members at luncheon on Friday at 1 P. M.

REPORT OF THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

The Corresponding Secretary, Professor Franklin Edgerton, presented the following report:—

The affairs of the Society continue to prosper. Interest in our meetings grows from year to year, and is now so great that the number of papers presented is even somewhat embarrassing. Last year the Directors voted to limit the time allotted to each paper at the meetings to fifteen minutes, instead of twenty, as heretofore. Even with this limitation, the number of papers offered makes it difficult to finish the program in the time to which the meetings have usually been limited. The Secretary feels it his duty to call the attention of the members to this condition, and to suggest that they consider the problem of relieving this congestion. Several proposals have been made to deal with the matter.

It has been suggested that at one session the Society might divide itself into two groups, an Indo-European and a Semitic group, papers of more technical character to be presented at this session. Against this it is urged

that—in Professor Lanman's words—'a generous and sympathetic interest on the part of each element of the Society in the work of the other should be maintained and quickend.' The Secretary feels personally that this is a strong, and in fact a conclusiv, objection to this plan.

Again it has been suggested that the committee on the program should be empowered to select from the papers offerd such as seem most suitable for presentation, and should exclude others. The Secretary is even more strongly opposed to this proposal, for several reasons. No program committee could, without supernatural aid, decide fairly and justly what papers should and what should not be presented. It is often impossible, even with the aid of an abstract, to tell how suitable for presentation a paper will be. Much depends on the tact and skill of the author. Invidious distinctions, not in any way connected with the intrinsic merits of the papers offerd, would be bound to creep into the matter. Papers by young and unknown authors would tend to be suppress, tho they would often be most worthy of presentation, and papers by members of prominence and distinction would in practice never be excluded, tho prominence and distinction do not, as a matter of fact, constitute any guarantee that their possessors will always say something that is worthy of attention.

It has also been suggested that the time-limit of papers should be still further reduced, to ten or if necessary even to five minutes. This would mean in many, if not most, cases that papers would be limited to a bare statement of the author's conclusions without any attempt to indicate the basis for them. Such an authoritativ ipse dixit is not the sort of thing that our society should encourage. What we want is not a papal bull declaring 'I believ so and so.' We want to know the grounds for the belief, and the operations of the author's mind in reaching the belief. It would probably seldom be possible to present any adequate defense of a proposition of any magnitude within less than fifteen minutes. Indeed, the Secretary personally believes that the former time-limit of twenty minutes, which is that usually allowed by scientific societies in this country, is none too long. It would, in the Secretary's opinion, be better not to hav a paper presented at all than to hav it presented in the form of a mere barren statement of conclusions, with no argument to back it up.

Another attempt to deal with this situation is represented by the resolution which Professor Lanman has announst his intention of introducing at this meeting. The resolution has at the same time certain other aims, with which most members will probably feel a general sympathy, altho the Secretary feels personally that the form of Professor Lanman's resolution is rather over-drastring. Even if the resolution should pass, however, it would probably not effect a sufficient saving of time to meet the situation; the programs would still, in the Secretary's opinion, remain over-crowded.

Finally, there remains to consider the possibility of making the sessions a trifle longer than has heretofore been customary. If it were generally understood that the meetings should, or if necessary might, be made to cover three full days, that is six sessions, there is little dout that this would giv time for the presentation of all papers which are likely to be offerd,

at least for some years to come. Three days is no more time than is allotted to the sessions of most learned societies in this country, and probably most of our members would not find the time excessively long. Those who do find it too long would of course be at liberty to attend only part of the sessions, as in fact some do at present. The social side of our meetings is so well developed and so agreeable that those who attend them seldom feel any anxiety to leave before the end, and the Secretary believes that this slight extension of the time of the sessions would not diminish the pleasure derived from the meetings. He also feels that this manner of extending the sessions would be better than, for instance, attempting to hold evening meetings for the presentation of papers, which would mean the abandonment of either the informal gathering or the dinner—both of which are characteristic and very agreeable features of our meetings, which most members would probably dislike to give up.

The Secretary has to report the death of one honorary and five corporate members.

Professor Julius Wellhausen, of the University of Göttingen, the distinguished Biblical scholar, died January 7, 1918; owing to the war, his death was reported in this country only a few months ago. He was made an honorary member of our society in 1902.

Dr. A. F. Rudolf Hoernle, of Oxford, England, died on November 11, 1918—the day of the signing of the armistice which ended the great war. He was a life member of our society, which he joined in 1893. His notable contributions to science, particularly to our knowledge of Indian medicine, and his publication of the famous Bower manuscript, long held to be the oldest known Indian manuscript, have made him one of the best-known Indologists of the world.

One of our senior members, Mr. Robert M. Olyphant of New York, who joined the society in 1861, died at his home on May 3, 1918.

Professor Jens I. Westergaard, of Harvard University, died at his home in Cambridge on September 17, 1918. He joined the society in 1903. He was an authority on International Law, and had been official adviser to the government of Siam, with the rank of Minister Plenipotentiary. He was chosen to represent Siam in the peace negotiations following the great war.

Mr. Francis A. Cunningham, of Merchautville, N. J., died on February 21, 1919. He was for a number of years a regular attendant at our meetings, and was particularly interested in Egyptology. He joined the society in 1910.

The Rev. Paul W. Sims, who was elected to the society only last year (1918), died at Johnstown, Pa., on September 28, 1918.

The close of the war brings with it a new world-situation full of problems for all of us, not only as citizens of our country and of the world, but as Orientalists. Especially acute and important, of course, are the problems connected with the future of work in the Near East. As the Secretary's professional interests are not immediately connected with that field, he feels hardly competent to go into these problems. Fortunately it is the

less necessary to do so since they will be most competently and authoritatively dealt with by our President in his annual address. Their importance must be self-evident to all.

Certain other problems, equally important and more exclusively American, will be called to the attention of the Society at the 'symposium' tomorrow afternoon. The question of an American school of living Oriental languages has repeatedly come up in the past. We hope this time not only to bring it up, but to bring it to fruition. The time is certainly more than ripe. All important countries of Europe have long since recognized the practical value for governmental and commercial purposes of training men in a knowledge of Eastern languages and cultures. Our own country should lag behind no longer. That the importance of the matter is recognized in official circles in Washington is indicated by the interest shown in our symposium by Mr. Phillips and Mr. Carr.

Intimately connected with this question is the general question of the future of oriental studies in this country. Often as this subject has been broached in the past, the need for further clarification of it is constantly being brought home to most of us in numerous ways. The gentlemen who have been selected to lead the discussion of this matter are sure to have something worth while to propose; and it is hoped that their proposals will be carefully considered and thoroughly discussed, both in the meeting and afterwards.

The report of the Corresponding Secretary was upon motion accepted, and Professor Müller spoke briefly of the late Mr. Cunningham and of his studies.

The Corresponding Secretary then read the resolution offered by Professor Lanman, who could not be present, as follows:

Within the last few decades, the number of communications offered for presentation at meetings of the American Oriental Society has increased from half-a-dozen or less to half-a-hundred or more. It has manifestly become neither feasible nor desirable to bring before the Society in fifty brief allotted periods of twenty minutes each or less, fifty masses of technical details. To accomplish so bad an end, it has been suggested that the Society be split into separate Semitic and Indo-European sections. It is far more important that a generous and sympathetic interest on the part of each element of the Society in the work of the other should be maintained and quickened.

Not only the teachings of modern psychology, but also those of every-day experience, show that the very act of reading (except in the case of very unusually stirring matter and of rarely gifted readers) is distinctly and uncontestedly a hypnotizing process. The reading of such details, with references to book and chapter and verse, and to volume and page of other writings by the reader on related subjects, may perhaps be called successful as a futile display of praiseworthy erudition; but the impression left on the hearer is not an inspiring one. It is often little else than that of transparently vainglorious display. Such performances, the Society ought, for the good of all—hearers and readers alike—positively to discourage.

With the revolving years, it has come to pass that no scholar has even the right to spend his time and his learning upon matters which have not some relation—direct or indirect—to the spiritual progress of mankind. It is not only his privilege, but also his duty, to tell in comprehensible language what that relation is, what he is trying to do, and why he is trying to do it. *This* it is which will interest and stimulate, quicken and inspire. And such inspiration, the delight and encouraging sympathy that come from direct personal intercourse with men who are brothers in the spirit, should be the dominant objects of our meetings. They ought never to be lost out of sight.

Therefore, be it resolved by the American Oriental Society: That, in arranging its program for future meetings, the Society considers that (except in the case of an occasional formal address) the normal method of laying Oriental topics before the assembly, be—not the reading of a prepared manuscript, but—a free oral presentation of the matter in a form which can be readily and easily comprehended by all who are present. And that, in cases where a member is unwilling to attempt this method, it shall be permissible to read from manuscript, but not for a time exceeding five minutes.

On motion, it was voted to lay the motion on the table.

On motion of Professor Edgerton, properly seconded, it was voted, after considerable discussion and slight amendment, as follows:

Resolved, that the Society's annual meeting should be made to cover three full days, with two sessions for business and the presentation of papers each day; the first session to begin about eleven o'clock on the morning of the first day, and the last session to continue until five or six o'clock on the afternoon of the third day, except when the number of papers to be presented is so small as to make a shorter time sufficient for their presentation; and further

Resolved, that the outside limit of time for the presentation of papers at the meetings be fifteen minutes, but that members be urged to economize the time of the Society by presenting their communications in as short a time as is consistent with a scholarly defense of their theses.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

The Treasurer, Professor Albert T. Clay, presented the following report, along with that of the Auditing Committee:

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES FOR THE YEAR ENDING DEC. 31, 1918

Receipts

Balance from old account, Dec. 31, 1918	\$3,918.14
Annual dues	1,345.13
Life membership of Dr. H. Banning	75.00

Interest on bonds:

Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Ry.	\$120.00	
Lackawanna Steel Co.	100.00	
Virginia Railway Co.	50.00	
Minneapolis General Electric Co.	50.00	\$320.00
Sale of publications		182.66
Interest on balances		186.96
		<hr/>
		\$6,027.89

Expenditures

For the meeting, 1918: printing and janitor	\$	4.00
To the Corresponding Secretary: Expenses	\$	25.00
Printing	43.80	68.80
Treasurer's expenses: clerical	5.57	
postage	8.45	14.02
Librarian's expenses: clerical	9.59	
postage	5.20	14.79
Expenses of the Middle West Branch		25.00
Journal: printing of 35.4	416.93	
37.3 to 38.3 (5 parts)	1,694.79	
38.4	262.99	
Editors' honorariums	150.00	
postage	17.24	
printing	7.50	2,549.45
	<hr/>	
Draft from India credited twice		25.00
Balance, Dec. 31, 1918		3,326.83
		<hr/>
		\$6,027.89

In addition to the balance of \$3,326.83 deposited with Yale University, the Treasurer of that institution holds for the Treasurer of the Society the four bonds listed as contributing toward the receipts.

The capitalized funds of the Society are as follows:

Charles W. Bradley Fund	\$3,000.00
Alexander I. Cothel Fund	1,500.00
William Dwight Whitney Fund	1,000.00
Life Membership Fund	2,150.00
	<hr/>
	\$7,650.00

The Corresponding Secretary reports that of the \$25.00 allotted to him for expenses there remained in his hands on April 22, 1919, an unexpended balance of \$4.51.

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE

We hereby certify that we have examined the account of the Treasurer of the Society, and have found the same correct, and that the foregoing account is in conformity therewith. We have also compared the entries with the vouchers and the account book as held for the Society by the Treasurer of Yale University, and have found all correct.

E. WASHBURN HOPKINS,
FREDK. WELLS WILLIAMS,
Auditors.

NEW HAVEN, April 16, 1919.

On motion, the Treasurer's report and that of the Auditing Committee were accepted.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN

The Librarian, Professor Albert T. Clay, presented the following report, which was upon motion accepted:

During the year the accessions, including the current periodicals, have been catalogued and put upon the shelves of the Library.

The requests for books on the part of members of the Society have increased considerably. In a number of instances Yale Library very kindly loaned the desired works when the Society's Library did not possess them.

Owing to conditions during the past year it seemed advisable to postpone for the time being our efforts in connection with the printing of the catalogue. Recently, however, the matter has again been taken up, and with the help of Professor Andrew Keogh, the Librarian of Yale University, it is hoped to finish this undertaking. Moreover, it is also hoped that the generous gifts of our fellow-members, Mrs. J. B. Nies and Professor J. R. Jewett, towards the expenses of publication, which were announced last year, will be supplemented.

Following is a list of the accessions to the Library, not including the regular publications:

- Ānandaranga Pillai. *Diary*, v. 6. Ed. by H. Dodwell. 1918.
 Asiatic papers, pt. II . . . read by Jivanji Jamshedji Modi. 1917.
 Benoy Kumar Sarkar. *The folk-element in Hindu culture*. 1917.
 Benoy Kumar Sarkar. *Hindu achievements in exact science*. 1918.
 Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum. *Memoirs*, v. 5, pt. 1; v. 7, no. 1. 1918.
 Bihar and Orissa research society. *Journal*, v. 4, pt. 4; v. 4, pt. 1-2. 1917-18.
 Boas, F. *Kutenai tales*. 1918.
 Brandstetter, R. *Die Reduplikation in den indianischen, indonesischen und indogermanischen Sprachen*. 1917.
 Brown, J. C. *Catalogue raisonné of the prehistoric antiquities in the Indian museum, Calcutta*. 1917.

- Coomaraswamy, Ananda. The dance of Siva; fourteen Indian essays. 1918.
- Cordier, H. Édouard Chavannes. 1918.
- Cousens, H. Bijapur and its architectural remains. 1916. (Archaeological survey of India, v. 37, Imperial series.)
- Densmore, F. Teton Sioux music. 1918.
- The Dinkard, the original Pahlavi text of the 2d pt. of Bk. VIII, with its transliteration in Roman characters, translations into English and Gujarati [etc.] v. 16. 1917.
- Erach Minocheher Lafa. Knights of Bihistoon. 1916.
- Farabee, W. C. The central Arawaks. 1918. (Univ. of Penn. Univ. museum. Anthropological publications, v. 9.)
- The Holy Scriptures according to the Masoretic text. A new translation. 1917.
- Hrdlicka, A. Recent discoveries attributed to early man in America. 1918.
- Kaye, G. R. The astronomical observations of Jai Singh. 1918.
- Kohler, K. Jewish theology systematically and historically considered. 1918.
- Mancekji Bejani Pithawalla. Steps to prophet Zoroaster. 1916.
- Marshall, J. A guide to Sanchi. 1918.
- Marshall, J. A guide to Taxila. 1918.
- Mercer, S. A. B. A Sumero-Babylonian sign list. 1918.
- Notz, W. F. The Masoretic text of Nahum critically compared with the ancient versions. 1909.
- Palestine exploration fund. Annual report . . . for the year 1916-17. 2 v.
- Pratt, I. A. Assyria and Babylonia; a list of references in the New York Public Library. 1918.
- Quackenbos, G. P., ed. The Sanskrit poems of Mayura. 1917. (Columbia univ. Indo-Iranian series, v. 9.)
- Rock, J. F. A monographic study of the Hawaiian species of the tribe Lobelioideae family Campanulaceae. 1919.
- School of oriental studies, London institution. Bulletin. 1918.
- Société d'études océaniques (Polynésie orientale) no. 3. Mars, 1918.
- The South Indian research, a monthly journal, v. 1, no. 1-2. Aug.-Sept. 1918.
- Studies in Biblical parallelism, pt. 1, by L. I. Newman, pt. 2, by W. Popper. (Univ. of California publications in Semitic philology, Aug. 1918.)
- The Toyo-Gakuho. Reports of the investigations of the Oriental society, v. 8, no. 1, 3; May, 1918, Sept. 1918: and v. 9, no. 1; Feb. 1919.
- Ubach, D. B. Legisme Toram? Grammatica practica linguae hebraicae, v. 1. 1918.
- Worrell, W. H. Zur Aussprache des arabischen h ح und h . (Vox, 1914, Heft 2.)

The following are all Siamese texts:

- Abhinhapaccavekkanapāṭha. A sermon on the fruits of good and ill conduct. With a preface by H. R. H. Prince Sommot Amorabandhu. B. E. 2457.

- An account of a royal cremation during the time of Ayuddhya. With a preface by H. R. H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab. B. E. 2459.
- Chronicle of the family of Bang Chang. With a preface by H. R. H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab. B. E. 2457.
- Chronicle of the kingdom of Cambodia. With a preface by H. R. H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab. B. E. 2460.
- A collection of boat songs. With a preface by H. R. H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab. B. E. 2460.
- A collection of maxims in verse. With a preface by H. R. H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab. B. E. 2460.
- A collection of poetical works to the glory of our lord the Buddha, of the Devatas, of the Royal elephants, etc. With a preface by H. R. H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab. B. E. 2457.
- A collection of "Sakrava"—Songs improvised on certain occasions in presence of H. M. King Chulalongkorn. With a preface by H. R. H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab. B. E. 2461.
- A collection of stanzas. Composed by ancient poets. With a preface by H. R. H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab. B. E. 2460.
- A collection of travels. Pt. I. With a preface by H. R. H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab. B. E. 2461.
- Eighteen ancient moral proverbs with commentary. With a preface by H. R. H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab. B. E. 2460.
- An historical sketch of the chief monasteries of Siam. With a preface by H. R. H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab. B. E. 2457.
- Historical sketch of the national library. With a preface by H. R. H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab. B. E. 2459.
- The Jātaka, or, Stories of the Buddha's former births, tr. from the Pāli into Siamese. Book 1, v. 3-5; Book 3, pt. 1, 4-5. B. E. 2460-61. With a preface by H. R. H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab.
- The history of Khun Ch'ang Khun Phên. A poem intended for recitation, v. 1-2. With a preface by H. R. H. Prince of Nagor Rajasima. B. E. 2460.
- Evidence regarding Ayuddhya; given by Khun Luang Ha Vat to the King of Ava. With a preface by H. R. H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab. B. E. 2459.
- Nang Chintarā. An episode from the drama "Inao." By Krom Phra Rajavang Pavara Vijaiyajān. With a preface by H. R. H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab. B. E. 2460.
- Manners and customs, pt. I. Customs of the Lao. With a preface by H. R. H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab. B. E. 2461.
- Memoirs of Hluang Udom Sompatti. With a preface by H. R. H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab. B. E. 2458.
- A collection of discourses by H. M. King Mongkut. With a preface by H. R. H. Prince Sommot Amorabandhu. B. E. 2457.
- Pañhadhammavinicchaya. On various points of religious doctrine. With a preface by H. R. H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab. B. E. 2457.

- History of the holy image called Phra Buddha Jinaraj, by H. M. King Chulalongkorn. With a preface by H. R. H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab. B. E. 2460.
- History of the holy image called Phra Buddha Sihing. With a preface by H. R. H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab. B. E. 2461.
- Short history of the various religions, by Phra Prajakich Karachakr. With a preface by H. R. H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab. B. E. 2461.
- A record of the military expedition against Chieng Tung. With a preface by H. R. H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab. B. E. 2459.
- A record of the voyage of H. M. the late king to Singapore, Batavia and India. With a preface by H. R. H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab. B. E. 2460.
- Royal edicts of H. M. the late king. With a preface by H. R. H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab. B. E. 2458.
- Sāratthasamuccaya. A commentary on Buddhist prayers. Tr. from the Pāli into Siamese. Chapter 1, 4, 13-21. B. E. 2451-2460. 8 v.
- A sermon; being a translation of Āyācanasutta. Tr. from the Pāli by Somdet Phra Sangharaj Pussadeb (Vat Rajapradit). With a preface by H. R. H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab. B. E. 2461.
- A sermon; being a translation of Cūlatanāhāsankhyasutta. Tr. from the Pāli by Somdet Phra Sangharaj Pussadeb (Vat Rajapradit). With a preface by H. R. H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab. B. E. 2461.
- A sermon; being a translation of Dhammacetiya-sutta. Tr. from the Pāli into Siamese by Somdet Phra Sangharaj Pussadeb (Vat Rajapradit). With a preface by H. R. H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab. B. E. 2460.
- A sermon; being a translation of Sabbasāmaññānusāsani and Ukkatthapattipadānusāsani from the Pāli by Somdet Phra Sangharaj Pussadeb (Vat Rajapradit). With a preface by H. R. H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab. B. E. 2461.
- A sermon on the duties of sovereigns illustrated by some examples taken from the history of Siam. By Prince Paramanujit Jinros. With a preface by H. R. H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab. B. E. 2461.
- A sermon on the life of Buddha, by Somdet Phra Sangharaj Pussadeb (Vat Rajapradit). With a preface by H. R. H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab. B. E. 2460.
- A sermon on the ten duties of sovereigns, illustrated by some examples taken out of the history of Siam. With a preface by H. R. H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab. B. E. 2458.
- A poem based on Shakespeare's Merchant of Venice. With a preface by H. R. H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab. B. E. 2459.
- Solasapañhā; tr. from the Pāli by Somdet Phra Sangharaj Pussadeb (Vat Rajapradit). Pt. 1-4. With a preface by H. R. H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab. B. E. 2460-61. 4 v.
- The story of Inao according to the theatrical version. With a preface by H. R. H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab. B. E. 2460.
- Ubbhayabakya, a collection of moral stanzas. With a preface by H. R. H. Prince Damrong Sommot Amorabandhu. B. E. 2457.

- Uposathasilakathā. On the celebration of Uposatha day. With a preface by H. R. H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab. B. E. 2459.
- A poetical version of the Pāli poem Vannavritti. With a preface by H. R. H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab. B. E. 2459.
- The life of Vessantara according to the Siamese official version. With a preface by H. R. H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab. B. E. 2460.
- Vividhavākya. A collection of moral stanzas. With a preface by H. R. H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab. B. E. 2457.
- The inscriptions of Wat Rajapradit, composed by H. M. King Mongkut. With a preface by H. R. H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab. B. E. 2461.

REPORT OF THE EDITORS OF THE JOURNAL

Professor James A. Montgomery, as Senior Editor of the JOURNAL, presented the following report of the Editors, which was upon motion accepted by the Society:

With the year 1918 we have made the year of the JOURNAL correspond with the calendar year. The issue in five Parts has been continued with satisfaction. Much delay has been experienced in getting the Parts out on time, but with the new year this tardiness has been corrected and we hope now to keep to our schedule. The reduced size of the volume and economies have considerably lessened the bill for printing. No alleviation in printing costs is yet in sight, but we hope that with the better financial confidence to be expected after the War we may feel authorized to enlarge the volume towards its former size.

We note with pleasure the very satisfactory arrangement which has been made with the Yale University Press as our Publishers. The connection is useful and profitable and also gives us a standing in the publishing world.

JAMES A. MONTGOMERY,
FRANKLIN EDGERTON,
Editors.

ELECTION OF MEMBERS

The following persons, recommended by the Directors, were elected members of the Society; the list includes some elected at a later session:

HONORARY MEMBER

Sir Arthur J. Evans, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, England.

CORPORATE MEMBERS

Miss Beatrice Allard,	Prof. Max Handman,
Prof. F. C. Duncalf,	Rev. Lewis Hodous,
Dr. Giuseppe Furlani,	Rev. E. P. Janvier,
Miss Alice Gilpin,	Mr. R. F. Johnston,
Dr. B. Halper,	Mrs. Fletcher Ladd,

Dr. James P. Marsh,
Mr. R. D. Messayeh,
Mr. George Tyler Molyneux,
Mrs. Charles F. Norton,
Mr. Charles Martyn Prynne,
Mr. Harry L. Rosen,
Mr. William Bacon Scofield,

Mr. Victor Segalen,
Rev. William Shellabear,
Mr. M. T. Stereiny,
Mrs. W. Yorke Stevenson,
Prof. F. J. Teggart,
Mr. Herbert E. Winlock,
Mr. Howland Wood.

Professor Jewett, for the Committee on Nominations, asked and received permission to report at a later session.

At this point, the reading of papers was begun, as follows:

Rev. Dr. J. B. NIES, of Brooklyn: The Origin of the Sumerian signs *Ab*, *Tunnu*, and *Immu*. Remarks by Professors Barton and Clay.

Miss L. C. G. GRIEVE, of Ocean Grove, N. J.: India as a factor in American literature.

A brief review of the various classes of literature in America, in which India—the land, the people, its history, etc.—is a prominent subject; and conclusions drawn therefrom.

On motion of Professor Edgerton, properly seconded, it was voted to amend

Article IX of the Constitution by striking out the words ‘said meeting to be held in Massachusetts at least once in three years,’ so that the Article as amended shall read:

Article IX. An Annual Meeting of the Society shall be held during Easter week, the days and place of the meeting to be determined by the Directors. One or more other meetings, at the discretion of the Directors, may also be held each year at such place and time as the Directors shall determine;

and to amend Article I of the By-Laws by striking out the words ‘and it shall be his duty to keep, in a book provided for the purpose, a copy of his letters,’ so that the Article as amended shall read:

I. The Corresponding Secretary shall conduct the correspondence of the Society; and he shall notify the meetings in such manner as the President or the Board of Directors shall direct.

The purpose of the first amendment was to render effective the privilege obtained by the amending of the Society’s Charter (see the JOURNAL, 38. 321-22); that of the second was to remove a dead-letter law.

The Society then adjourned for the day, at 5:20 P. M.

THE SECOND SESSION

The second session of the Society was called to order by President Breasted at 9:33 o’clock on Thursday morning, in Price

Hall of the University of Pennsylvania Law School, and the presentation of papers was at once begun:

Rev. G. S. KUKHI, of Yale University: *Kitab al Haidah wal Itidar*, or the Book of Evasion and Apology.

This is one of the Landberg collection of Arabic manuscripts in the Library of Yale University. It comes from Abbaside Bagdad. The name of the author is Abd al-'Aziz bin-Yahya al-Makki al-Kinani. The text is a polemic against the Mutazilites who preached the doctrine of the 'created Koran' as over against the orthodox doctrine of the 'unoriginate and eternal Koran.' It is claimed that this book was delivered in the form of a disputation in the presence of the great Abbaside caliph al-Mamun during the period of the Mutazilite inquisition.

Professor A. EMBER, of Johns Hopkins University: Semito-Egyptian Words. Discussion by Dr. Albright and Professor Breasted.

Since the last meeting of the Society the stock of Semito-Egyptian words has been increased by about 500. Semito-Egyptian phonetics appear now in a much clearer light. Semitic *L* appears in old Egyptian as *n*, not as *r*. The 'snake' in the Egyptian alphabet has the value of *g* (palatalized *g*), and etymologically it answers to both, *Qādē* and *Gimel*. A few new Semito-Egyptian words: *ngi* 'rescue': Arab. *nagga*; *pg* 'stretch,' *pgt* 'bow': Arab. *fagga* 'bend (bow), stretch (bow-string)'; *nrt* 'shuttle': Arab. *nāva* 'weave'; *mt* 'phallus': Assyr. *muttu* 'front,' *muttis* 'in front,' Arab. *māttat* 'relationship,' Heb. *methim* 'men'; *nqr* 'flag': Sem. stem *nkr*; etc.

Professor L. C. BARRET, of Trinity College: The Kashmir Atharva Veda, Book Seven.

Miss RUTH NORTON, of Johns Hopkins University: The Life-Index in Hindu Fiction. Remarks by Dr. W. N. Brown.

We may distinguish two leading categories of this motif, terming them active and passive. The active index is some object, bird or bee or inanimate object, on which the life of a man or demon depends; destruction of the index involves destruction of the owner. The passive index is merely some token, often a plant, which signifies to a friend the illness, danger, or death of the bestower by some change of condition. The two are often used to advantage in the same story. A further type, tho small in scope, is the faith token. Life-index motif is widely disseminated in Hindu folklore, yet almost totally absent in literature.

Professor G. A. BARTON, of Bryn Mawr College: Double postpositives in early Sumerian. Remarks by Professor Jastrow, Drs. Chiera and Lutz, and the author of the paper.

Professor PAUL HAUPT, of Johns Hopkins University: (a) Ox and ass at the Nativity; (b) Nehemiah's night-ride; (c) The passage hawk; (d) Accadian and Sumerian. Discussion by Professor Jastrow and author of the paper.

(a) *Ox and Ass at the Nativity*. The Evangelium Pseudo-Matthaei says that when Mary placed the Babe in the manger, ox and ass worshiped him, thus fulfilling the prophecies in Is. 1. 3 and Hab. 3. 2 where *bē-qērv shanim hayyehû* is supposed to mean *in medio duorum animalium*. This, however, would be in Hebrew: *bēn shtáim hayyôth*, not *bē-qērv shēnám hayyim*. We must read *bī-qrôv shanim*, 'in the (next) few years' (cf. *miq-qarôv* 'soon' Ezek. 7. 8). The poet asks that *Jhvh* should in wrath (i. e., the Syrian persecution) remember mercy and manifest himself in the near future.

(b) *Nehemiah's Night-ride*. Nehemiah went from the Valley Gate (in the southern wall) toward the Dragon Well, i. e., the Mamilla Pool NW of the Jaffa Gate; and after he had returned to the Valley Gate, he went toward the Fountain Gate at the southeastern corner of Jerusalem; finally he went north in the Kidron Valley to inspect the eastern wall. The Dragon Well is identical with the Serpent Pool of Josephus and the Azal (at the head of the Valley of Hinnom) of Zech. 14. 5. Arab. *açal* means serpents. LXX has *καὶ . . . καὶ* in Neh. 2. 13, and the Vulgate: *et . . . et*.

(c) *The Passage Hawk*. For *kē-moç* 'avár in Zeph. 2. 2, which is supposed to mean *he passed as the chaff*, LXX reads *kē-neç* 'óvēr. This, however, does not mean *ἀνὸς παραπορεύμενον*, but *like a passage hawk* (Job 39. 26). Instead of the first hemistich *bē-térm lédheth hóq*, which is supposed to mean *before the decree bring forth*, we must read *bē-térm rédheth hóq*, before Fate descend. The preceding line of this euphemistic liturgical appendix should be read and translated: *Hithqôshshû wa-qôddû lē-Yahwē hag-gôy han-niksál*, 'bow yourselves and bend to *Jhvh*, ye sinful people.'

(d) *Accadian and Sumerian*. Sayce (1870) and Lenormant (1873) called the non-Semitic language of Babylonia *Accadian*, while Oppert (1868) used the name *Sumerian*, adding that the term *Accadian* could denote only the Semitic Assyro-Babylonian. Oppert was right; but it is necessary to substitute *Accadian* for *Assyrian*. The older form of the non-Semitic Sumerian, which we find in the cuneiform litanies, may be called the litanic dialect, just as we speak of the Vedic and Gâthâ dialects. The native name *eme-sal* means *language of enlargement*, i. e., *release from distress* (cf. Esth. 4. 14) and alludes to its use in the litanies and penitential psalms.

Dr. W. N. BROWN, of the University of Pennsylvania: Escaping one's fate: a Hindu paradox illustrated from fiction. Remarks by Dr. Abbott and Professor Kent.

The Hindus are justly thot to believe that man's fate is inevitable, whether it results from previous *Karma* or from the decrees of an arbitrary deity. But there are a comparatively few people in India who rebel against this dictum, and fiction offers illustrations of three ways to escape fate. Human shrewdness may trick fate; the grace of some god may save a worshipper from destined misfortune; or a

man's acts may so mitigate the lot assigned him at birth that the terms are fulfilled in word only, not in spirit.

Professor H. J. CADBURY, of Haverford College: Did Luke translate written Aramaic sources? Remarks by Professor Haupt and the author of the paper.

Mrs. A. H. SAUNDERS, of New York City: Portrait painting as a dramatic device in Sanskrit plays. Remarks by Professor Bloomfield.

Some plays in which portrait painting is used as a dramatic device. Used to bring the hero and heroine together. Portraits almost always painted by one of the lovers. Where in the plays the painting occurs. In what manner it is introduced. Method of painting, material used, etc.

Dr. E. CHIERA, of the University of Pennsylvania: Akkadian and Sumerian personal names. Discussion by Professors Clay and Haupt and the author of the paper.

Rules which help in distinguishing names of the two languages, wherever difficulty arises. Many Akkadian names appear in early documents in such a form as to be practically indistinguishable from the Sumerian names. This is because many phonetic values, which have hitherto been considered purely Sumerian, are also used in the formation of the Akkadian names.

At 12:08 P. M. the Society took a recess until the afternoon session.

THE THIRD SESSION

The third session was called to order by the President at 2:05 P. M. on Thursday, in the Auditorium of Houston Hall, University of Pennsylvania.

Mrs. William Albert Wood, of the Women's Committee, briefly addressed the gathering on behalf of the Victory Loan.

This was followed by an address of welcome on the part of the University of Pennsylvania, by Vice-Provost Josiah H. Penniman, in the absence of Provost Edgar Fahs Smith.

Professor James H. Breasted, as President of the Society, then delivered the annual presidential address, upon "The Place of the Near Orient in the Career of Man, and the Coming Task of the Orientalist." [Printed in this Part of the JOURNAL, 39.]

The next was a symposium on "The Need for a School of Living Oriental Languages," the speakers being Dr. Talcott Williams, Director of the Pulitzer School of Journalism of Columbia University; Professor W. H. Worrell, of the Kennedy School of Missions, Hartford, Connecticut, and the next Director

of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem; Mr. W. H. Schoff, Secretary of the Philadelphia Museums; Hon. William Phillips, Assistant Secretary of State of the United States of America, whose paper was in his unavoidable absence read by Professor Jastrow. The Hon. Wilbur J. Carr, Director of the Consular Service at Washington, also had been expected to speak, but was unable to be present, and by telegram expressed his hearty approval of the proposal. At the conclusion of the addresses, Professor A. V. Williams Jackson of Columbia University presented a set of resolutions, which had previously received the endorsement of the Board of Directors of the Society. These resolutions were by vote adopted, as follows:

WHEREAS: Owing to the fact that the connection between America and the East is growing closer every day and has been still more emphasized by events in the recent war, it is desirable that young men who are going to the Orient in Consular Service, or for purposes of commerce, should have a knowledge in advance of the languages and conditions of the countries in which their activities are to be engaged;

AND WHEREAS: There are already existing in various European centers special schools for such training, as for example the École des langues orientales vivantes, at Paris:

BE IT THEREFORE RESOLVED: That the American Oriental Society at an official session of its annual meeting held at Philadelphia, April 24, 1919, declares that it is highly desirable that such a School of Modern Oriental Languages be established in the United States of America, under government auspices, at Washington or elsewhere.

AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: That copies of said resolution concerning the desirability of establishing such a school be sent to the President of the United States, to the Secretary of State, and to the Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations.

FURTHERMORE BE IT RESOLVED: That copies of the same resolution be sent to Chambers of Commerce throughout the country for their endorsement.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS FOR 1919-1920

Professor Jewett, for the Committee on Nomination of Officers, now reported as follows:

For President—Professor Charles Rockwell Lanman, of Harvard University.

For Vice-Presidents—Professor Richard J. H. Gottheil, of Columbia University; Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, of Columbia University; Professor Leroy Waterman, of the University of Michigan.

For Corresponding Secretary—Dr. Charles J. Ogden, of New York City.

For Recording Secretary—Professor LeRoy Carr Barret, of Trinity College.

For Treasurer—Professor Albert T. Clay, of Yale University.

For Librarian—Professor Albert T. Clay, of Yale University.

For Editors of the Journal—Professor James A. Montgomery, of the University of Pennsylvania; Professor Franklin Edgerton, of the University of Pennsylvania.

For Directors, term expiring 1922—Professor James Henry Breasted, of the University of Chicago; Professor Morris Jastrow, Jr., of the University of Pennsylvania; Professor David G. Lyon, of Harvard University.

The officers thus nominated were duly elected.

There followed a symposium on 'The Outlook for Oriental Studies in American Universities,' the speakers being Professor Maurice Bloomfield of Johns Hopkins University, on Indo-Iranian Studies, and Professor Morris Jastrow, Jr., of the University of Pennsylvania, on Semitic Studies; and, more briefly, Professor J. H. Breasted of the University of Chicago. On motion of Professor Jastrow, properly seconded, it was voted to approve and to refer to the Board of Directors the following suggestions:

1. The preparation of a statement setting forth the scope, character, aims and purposes of Oriental studies, to be presented to institutions at which such studies are not represented.

2. To consider the advisability of preparing a plan for archaeological exploration in the Near East, such plan to be presented at as early a period as possible to the Carnegie Institution.

3. To consider the advisability of forming a National Academy for the Humanities and, if in the judgment of the Directors the effort to form such an Academy should be made, to authorize them to appoint a committee to co-operate with such organizations as the Archaeological Institute of America, the American Historical Association, the American Philosophical Association, the American Philological Association, the Modern Language Association, and other societies covering the Humanities, and to take such other steps as in their judgment may seem advisable.

President Breasted then stated that the Board of Directors by a postal ballot had joined with various Museums and similar interested institutions in a resolution urging the Peace Conference in Paris to embody, in the terms of peace, the protection of antiquities in the former Ottoman Empire, together with provisions for fair and equal treatment of all adequately equipped expeditions for excavation and research; and that a committee

of the Peace Conference had been appointed and was reporting back to the Conference provisions which were entirely satisfactory.

At 5:00 o'clock the Society adjourned for the day.

THE FOURTH SESSION

The fourth session was called to order by President Breasted at 9:45 o'clock on Friday morning, in the auditorium of the Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning.

The President announced that the next meeting of the Society would be held at Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday of Easter week, April 6, 7, and 8, 1920. Certain additional nominees for membership, included in the list already given, were duly elected.

The Corresponding Secretary reported also two amendments to the Constitution and By-Laws, approved by the Board of Directors and referred to the Society for final action, as follows:

That Article III of the Constitution be amended to read: "The membership of the Society shall consist of Corporate Members, Honorary Members, and Honorary Associates."

That the opening words of By-Law VII be amended to read: "All members shall receive a copy" etc.

The purpose of these amendments was to create a new class of membership among men prominent in the public life of the country, whose interest should be enlisted in promoting the work of the Society. By motion, the amendments were adopted.

The reading of papers was then resumed:

Professor M. L. MARGOLIS, of the Dropsie College: Two emendations in the Old Testament. Remarks by Professor Haupt.

Isai. 43. 12 ל. וְהִשְׁתַּחֲוִיָּהּ pro וְהִשְׁתַּחֲוִיָּהּ ; Prov. 25. 8 ל. תִּצָּא pro תִּצָּא.

Professor R. P. DOUGHERTY, of Goucher College: New cuneiform references to Belshazzar.

Nine tablets in the Yale Babylonian Collection, dated in the reign of Nabonidus, indicate the prominence of Belshazzar in affairs at Erech. Two texts place him on an equality with his father in oaths. He had pastoral and agricultural interests and exercised some jurisdiction in temple matters, at the same time paying a tithe to Eanna. A receipt for his tithe is contained in the Goucher College Babylonian Collection.

Professor LEROY WATERMAN, of the University of Michigan: The curse in the paradise epic. [To be printed in the JOURNAL.]

Rev. H. LINFIELD, of the Dropsie College: The dependence of the Talmudic principle of *asmakhta* on Babylonian law. [To be printed in the JOURNAL.] Remarks by Professor Morgenstern.

Professor J. D. PRINCE, of Columbia University: Some Sumerian word formations. [To be printed in the JOURNAL.] Remarks by Professor Haupt, Dr. Albright, Professor Kent, and the author of the paper.

Professor A. V. W. JACKSON, of Columbia University: From diary notes made in Mesopotamia and on a fourth journey to Persia. Remarks by Professor Gottheil and the author of the paper.

Memorandum regarding the tomb of Ezra on the Tigris; the Arch of Ctesiphon near Bagdad; the ruins of Kasr-i Shirin in Western Persia; and the Grave of Baba Tahir, the eleventh century Persian quatrain poet, at Hamadan.

Professor R. J. H. GOTTHEIL, of Columbia University: Ibn al-Wāṣiti's controversial treatise against non-believers.

Professor G. S. DUNCAN, of the American University, Washington: The future life in the oldest Egyptian texts.

The oldest Egyptian inscriptions (4000 B. C.) contain a well developed future life in eastern sky surrounded by water and reached by rafts and boats. It is a glorified Egypt with reeds, flowers, trees, fields, lakes, and rivers. Entrance is conditioned on ceremonial and ethical purity. The chief food is bread, beer, geese, and oxen. The heavenly occupation is serving the gods. Resurrection of the body and immortality are taught in clearest terms. 'Horus has united for thee thy members.' 'Thou hast departed that thou mightest live.' Henotheism is taught with Re as supreme god. Set is the evil doer, the Satan.

Professor FRANKLIN EDGERTON, of the University of Pennsylvania: The filosofic materials of the Atharva Veda. Remarks by Professor Bloomfield and the author of the paper.

The connecting link between Vedic filosofy and magic, and therefore the reason for the presence of the filosofic materials in the AV., is to be found in their common aim, viz., the attainment of practical, worldly ends by means of mystic, esoteric (or magic) knowledge. The Atharvan filosofic hymns therefore hav a natural and proper place in the collection from the start and are not foren intrusions in any sense. The Atharvan ritual texts support this view. The practical aims of 'higher thot' ar prominent even in the Upanishads, the culmination of Vedic filosofy.

When Professor Edgerton rose to read his paper a rising vote of appreciation was tendered to him by the Society for his unfailling services as Corresponding Secretary during the past four years, from which position he was by his own desire retiring.

The President then announced the membership of certain committees:

On Arrangements for the Next Meeting: Professor Nathaniel Schmidt, Chairman; Professors R. J. H. Gottheil and Leroy Waterman, and the Corresponding Secretary.

On Nomination of Officers for 1920-21: Rev. Dr. J. B. Nies, Chairman; Professor J. D. Prince; and Mr. E. T. Newell.

The Auditing Committee: Professors E. W. Hopkins and F. W. Williams.

On motion, it was voted to extend a vote of thanks to the authorities of the University of Pennsylvania and to those of the Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning, for their generous hospitality to the Society during the meeting.

At 12:30 o'clock the Society took a recess until the afternoon session.

THE FIFTH SESSION

The fifth and last session of the meeting of 1919 was held at the Dropsie College on the afternoon of Friday, beginning at 2:53 o'clock, with President Breasted in the chair. The reading of papers was at once begun:

Professor JULIAN MORGENSTERN, of the Hebrew Union College: Holy Cross Day. Remarks by Rev. Dr. Nies, Professors Jastrow and Müller, Rev. Dr. Kyle, and the author of the paper.

This festival is celebrated on September 14th (old style) in the Eastern Church. It commemorates, supposedly, the finding of the Cross on September 14, 326 A. D. On this same day the Church of the Anastasis and that of Golgotha *Ad Crucem*, both upon Calvary, were dedicated. The festival is popularly celebrated by kindling huge bonfires and by other curious rites. It is unquestionably a survival of an ancient, Semitic, equinoctial festival, which marked, in many localities, the beginning of the new year. The ceremonies were frequently of a Saturnalian character. It was customary to dedicate new sanctuaries upon this festival and to call down fire from heaven.

Mrs. D. M. BATES, of Cambridge, Mass.: Brief mention of translations into Chinese by the late Bishop S. I. J. Schereschewsky.

His translation—alone—of the entire Old Testament into the Mandarin language. His translation—alone—of the entire Bible into High Wen-li. His translation of the Prayer-Book into High Wen-li. Reasons for putting the Bible into High Wen-li. His revisions of this book, made under enormous difficulties, and in his invalid's chair, with the use of one finger, only, for typewriting. His courageous journey to China, and to Japan, in this helpless condition, in order to have his book printed.

Rev. Dr. J. E. ABBOTT, of Summit, N. J.: Bhānūdās, the Maratha poet-saint. Remarks by Professors M. Bloomfield and Müller.

Between Dnyaneshvar, the first of the Maratha saint-poets, A. D. 1290, and Eknath, 1543-1609, comes the minor saint-poet Bhānūdās, great-grandfather of Eknath. The traditional story of his life as preserved by Mahipati in Bhaktavyaya, chap. 42, 43, and Bhaktalilāmrita 18 is exceedingly interesting. He appears as religiously inclined from childhood, and later as the honest merchant who would die rather than tell a lie, and who adopted the system of the 'fixed price,' with great success. From this life he, however, retired to a religious life. He brought back from Vijayanagara the image of Vithoba that the king of Vijayanagara had taken away from Pandharpur. Historical evidence of this event is lacking. About a hundred of his Abhangs are extant.

Professor M. BLOOMFIELD, of Johns Hopkins University. The dohada, or craving of pregnant women: a motif of Hindu fiction. [To be printed in the JOURNAL.] Discussion by Professor Edgerton.

Rev. Dr. JOHN P. PETERS, of New York City: The home of the Semites. [To be printed in the JOURNAL.] Discussion by Professors Jastrow, Breasted, and Müller. Such interest was aroused that the Directors were requested to consider the feasibility of appointing a symposium on this topic as a feature of the program of the next meeting.

Dr. W. F. ALBRIGHT, of Johns Hopkins University: Menes and Nārāmsin.

Mani of Magan, defeated by Naramsin of Akkad, is Menes (Manei) of Egypt. All lines of investigation, historical, geographical, chronological, and archaeological, converge in support of this thesis. Orman = Armenia; Tibar = Anti-Taurus; Ibla = Gbla (Gubla); Iarmuti = Philistia; Magan = Ma'an (oldest West-Semitic name of Egypt). The accession of Menes may be placed cir. 2950 B. C., the introduction of the calendar 2780, in perfect agreement with our present Egyptian material. The dynasty of Akkad is to be dated 3000-2800 B. C., in accordance with the latest discoveries. The history of ancient civilization now appears in a clearer light.

Professor ROLAND G. KENT, of the University of Pennsylvania: Cattle-tending and agriculture in the Avesta. [To be printed in the JOURNAL.]

Mr. W. H. SCHOFF, of the Philadelphia Commercial Museum: Biblical foreign trade chapters.

The President announced that the following papers, offered on the program, but not read because of the absence of their authors or for the lack of time, were formally presented by title:

Dr. W. F. ALBRIGHT, of Johns Hopkins University: (a) The cuneiform prototype of Hidr-Elias, and the Messianic expectation; (b) The Mesopotamian origin of the Gnostic Sophia.

Professor L. C. BARRET, of Trinity College: Pāippalāda and Rigveda.

Professor G. A. BARTON, of Bryn Mawr College: On Babylonian parallels to Genesis 2 and 3.

Professor F. R. BLAKE, of Johns Hopkins University: The languages of the Moros of the Philippine Islands.

Professor M. BLOOMFIELD, of Johns Hopkins University: The mind as wish-car in the Veda. [To be printed in the JOURNAL.]

Dr. W. N. BROWN, of the University of Pennsylvania: The wandering skull: new light on Tantrākhyāna 29.

Professor C. E. CONANT, of the University of Chattanooga: Long consonants in Ibanak (Philippines).

Dr. I. EFROS, of Baltimore: An emendation to Is. 63. 5.

Rev. F. GAVIN, of Cambridge, Mass.: The 'sleep of the soul' in early Syriac teachings: its affiliations and origins.

Professor C. R. LANMAN, of Harvard University: (a) The Sanskrit mutes called *mūrdhanya*, that is, *domal*: with a history and criticism of a century-old error; (b) The Harvard Oriental Series and the War.

Rev. H. LINFIELD, of Dropsie College: The words 'mouth' and 'tongue' as roots in Semitic languages.

Dr. C. J. OGDEN, of New York City: The supposed Hindu dynasty of Bhatinda.

Dr. J. J. PRICE, of Plainfield, N J.: (a) Arabic superstitions before Mohammed; (b) Arabic parallels to Rabbinic literature; (c) Buddhism in China.

Dr. J. E. SNYDER, of Johns Hopkins University: The paronomasies in Zeph. 2. 4.

Professor C. C. TORREY, of Yale University: The Arab poet called Girān al-'Aud.

At 4:48 o'clock the Society adjourned, to meet again in Ithaca on April 6, 1920.

IMPORTANT ACTIONS TAKEN BY THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS AT THE PHILADELPHIA MEETING April 23-25, 1919

In view of the fact that an unusual volume of important business was transacted by the Board of Directors at the Philadelphia meeting, the editors of the Journal and the secretaries have urged that all such matters of interest to the members, in so far as they are not fully set forth in the published proceedings of the meeting, should be briefly presented in a statement by the outgoing president.

In accordance with the resolutions adopted by the society urging the importance of establishing a School of Modern Oriental

Languages, the Directors voted to appoint a committee of seven to push the project in every possible way. The following compose this committee: Messrs. Prince (chairman), Talcott Williams, Adler, Torrey, Jackson, Jastrow, Breasted.

The Directors unanimously agreed that a vigorous campaign for new members was highly desirable. Prof. Julian Morgestern was appointed chairman of a committee to take up this work, with the request to nominate and appoint three additional members of his committee. This new organ is to be called the Standing Committee on the Enlargement of Membership and Resources, and it will direct its appeal to all cultured and enlightened people of the country, to join our society and aid in its support.

The Society feels the need of such support more especially for its very scanty publication account, which has for years struggled along on very meagre resources. It was therefore voted to request the treasurer to include on his bills a suggestion that members add to their dues a contribution toward the support of special publications.

In accordance with this effort it was likewise voted that the Directors go on record as advising the Society as soon as possible to reserve the income from the present Trust Funds exclusively for special publications, rather than to use such income for current expenses as at present.

Similarly the Directors expressed their further sense of the importance of supporting our publication enterprises by voting that the former Committee on Publication be discharged and a new committee with the same powers be appointed. This new committee on Publication now includes the following members: Messrs. Jastrow (chairman), Clay, Jewett, Nies, and Talcott Williams.

In order to be able to associate with the work of the Society influential men in public life, who would consent to further the interests of the Society by such association, the Directors voted to appoint a committee of three to consider nominations for a new class of honorary members, the new members to be termed 'Honorary Associates,' and to report at the next annual meeting. This committee includes Messrs. Montgomery (chairman), Haupt, and R. G. Kent.

In view of the fact that there are many educational institutions in the United States which possess no departments or individual teachers offering courses for the study of oriental languages and civilizations, the Directors voted that a committee of three be appointed to prepare a statement setting forth the scope, character, aims, and purposes of oriental studies, said statement to be submitted to the Board of Directors for approval and modifications, and to be signed by them and presented to educational institutions at which such studies are not represented. The members of this committee are Messrs. R. G. Kent (chairman), Jastrow, and Barret.

The emancipation of the Near East from the rule of the Ottoman Empire offers such an unparalleled opportunity for excavation and exploration that the Directors voted to appoint a committee of five to prepare a plan for archaeological exploration in the Near East, such plan to be presented at as early a period as possible to the Carnegie Institution of Washington.

With similar purposes in view the Directors also voted to appoint a Committee to Further the Interests of the American School in Jerusalem. The members of this latter committee are Messrs. Montgomery (chairman), Barton and Clay.

The lack of a national organization of all American scholars representing research in humanistic science is a serious obstacle to the progress of such research, and especially to efforts looking toward securing the funds for proper support of humanistic science. For example there was no nationally representative body of humanistic scholars to present to our Peace Commissioners in Paris the cause of scientific research in the territory of the defunct Ottoman Empire, as administered by its future mandatories. In view of this situation the Directors voted to appoint a committee of three to consider the proper course of action in proceeding to the formation of a National Academy of Humanistic Science. This committee consists of Messrs. Breasted (chairman), Bloomfield, Jastrow.

The Directors voted to pay the annual subvention of fifty dollars to the Encyclopaedia of Islam for the years 1918 and 1919.

The President called the attention of the Directors to the difficulties confronting the executive officer in securing any action

of the Directors or of the Society during the intervals between the annual sessions. It is not too much to say that as far as all official functions other than editing and carrying on correspondence by the President and Secretaries are concerned, the Society is practically dead for about fifty-one and a half weeks in the year. This situation is rendered the more difficult by the custom of a rotating presidency, and in years when the corresponding secretary also lays down his office, even the slight continuity from one annual meeting to the next is completely broken. In view of these conditions the proposal was made that an Executive Council with a reasonably permanent membership, so located that it might easily and readily assemble at any time during the year, be created, with power to take official action on matters demanding speedy decision; and it was voted that a committee of two be appointed to consider the question of such an Executive Council and to draft suitable amendments to the Constitution and By-Laws for putting it into operation, if the project should ultimately be approved. The members of this committee are Messrs. Edgerton and Barret.

In preparing the above statement may I express my indebtedness to the very efficient services of the Scribe of the Directors, Prof. R. G. Kent, on whose records this summary is based.

I am sure that I express the feeling of the Directors in stating that the future of the American Oriental Society never looked brighter, and that the important actions taken at the Philadelphia meeting give promise of a greatly enlarged field of usefulness and influence for the Society. It is a pleasant duty to indicate in closing that the greater part of the constructive program adopted at the Philadelphia meeting was due to the aggressive and efficient local committee in charge of the program.

JAMES HENRY BREASTED

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CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS

OF THE

AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY

With Amendments of 1897, 1911, 1915, 1917, and 1919

CONSTITUTION

ARTICLE I. This Society shall be called the AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

ARTICLE II. The objects contemplated by this Society shall be:—

1. The cultivation of learning in the Asiatic, African, and Polynesian languages, as well as the encouragement of researches of any sort by which the knowledge of the East may be promoted.

2. The cultivation of a taste for Oriental studies in this country.

3. The publication of memoirs, translations, vocabularies, and other communications, presented to the Society, which may be valuable with reference to the before-mentioned objects.

4. The collection of a library and cabinet.

ARTICLE III. The membership of the Society shall consist of corporate members, honorary members, and honorary associates.

ARTICLE IV. All candidates for membership must be proposed by the Directors, at some stated meeting of the Society, and no person shall be elected a member of either class without receiving the votes of as many as three-fourths of all the members present at the meeting.

ARTICLE V. The government of the Society shall consist of a President, three Vice-Presidents, a Corresponding Secretary, a Recording Secretary, a Treasurer, a Librarian, two Editors of the Journal, and nine Directors. The officers shall be elected at the annual meeting, by ballot, for a term of one year. The Directors shall consist of three groups of three members each, one group to be elected each year at the annual meeting for a term of three years. No Director shall be eligible for immediate re-election as Director, tho he may be chosen as an officer of the Society.

ARTICLE VI. The President and Vice-Presidents shall perform the customary duties of such officers, and shall be *ex officio* members of the Board of Directors.

ARTICLE VII. The Secretaries, the Treasurer, the Librarian, and the two Editors of the Journal shall be *ex officio* members of the Board of Directors, and shall perform their respective duties under the superintendence of said Board.

ARTICLE VIII. It shall be the duty of the Board of Directors to regulate the financial concerns of the Society, to superintend its publications, to carry into effect the resolutions and orders of the Society, and to exercise a general supervision over its affairs. Five Directors at any regular meeting shall be a quorum for doing business.

ARTICLE IX. An Annual meeting of the Society shall be held during Easter week, the days and place of the meeting to be determined by the Directors. One or more other meetings, at the discretion of the Directors, may also be held each year at such place and time as the Directors shall determine.

ARTICLE X. This Constitution may be amended, on a recommendation of the Directors, by a vote of three-fourths of the members present at an annual meeting.

BY-LAWS

I. The Corresponding Secretary shall conduct the correspondence of the Society; and he shall notify the meetings in such manner as the President or the Board of Directors shall direct.

II. The Recording Secretary shall keep a record of the proceedings of the Society in a book provided for the purpose.

III. a. The Treasurer shall have charge of the funds of the Society; and his investments, deposits, and payments shall be made under the superintendence of the Board of Directors. At each annual meeting he shall report the state of the finances, with a brief summary of the receipts and payments of the previous year.

III. b. After December 31, 1896, the fiscal year of the Society shall correspond with the calendar year.

III. c. At each annual business meeting in Easter week, the President shall appoint an auditing committee of two men—preferably men residing in or near the town where the Treasurer lives—to examine the Treasurer's accounts and vouchers, and to inspect the evidences of the Society's property, and to see that the funds called for by his balances are in his hands. The Committee shall perform this duty as soon as possible after the New Year's day succeeding their appointment, and shall report their findings to the Society at the next annual business meeting thereafter. If these findings are satisfactory, the Treasurer shall receive his acquittance by a certificate to that effect, which shall be recorded in the Treasurer's book, and published in the Proceedings.

IV. The Librarian shall keep a catalogue of all books belonging to the Society, with the names of the donors, if they are presented, and shall at each annual meeting make a report of the accessions to the library during the previous year, and shall be farther guided in the discharge of his duties by such rules as the Directors shall prescribe.

V. All papers read before the Society, and all manuscripts deposited by authors for publication, or for other purposes, shall be at the disposal of the Board of Directors, unless notice to the contrary is given to the Editors at the time of presentation.

VI. Each corporate member shall pay into the treasury of the Society an

annual assessment of five dollars; but a donation at any one time of seventy-five dollars shall exempt from obligation to make this payment.

VII. All members shall be entitled to a copy of all the publications of the Society issued during their membership, and shall also have the privilege of taking a copy of those previously published, so far as the Society can supply them, at half the ordinary selling price.

VIII. Candidates for membership who have been elected by the Society shall qualify as members by payment of the first annual assessment within one month from the time when notice of such election is mailed to them. A failure so to qualify shall be construed as a refusal to become a member. If any corporate member shall for two years fail to pay his assessments, his name may, at the discretion of the Directors, be dropped from the list of members of the Society.

IX. Six members shall form a quorum for doing business, and three to adjourn.

SUPPLEMENTARY BY-LAWS

I. FOR THE LIBRARY

1. The Library shall be accessible for consultation to all members of the Society, at such times as the Library of Yale College, with which it is deposited, shall be open for a similar purpose; further, to such persons as shall receive the permission of the Librarian, or of the Librarian or Assistant Librarian of Yale College.

2. Any member shall be allowed to draw books from the Library upon the following conditions: he shall give his receipt for them to the Librarian, pledging himself to make good any detriment the Library may suffer from their loss or injury, the amount of said detriment to be determined by the Librarian, with the assistance of the President, or of a Vice-President; and he shall return them within a time not exceeding three months from that of their reception, unless by special agreement with the Librarian this term shall be extended.

3. Persons not members may also, on special grounds, and at the discretion of the Librarian, be allowed to take and use the Society's books, upon depositing with the Librarian a sufficient security that they shall be duly returned in good condition, or their loss or damage fully compensated.

II. ON THE ORGANIZATION OF BRANCHES

1. To provide for scientific meetings of groups of members living at too great a distance to attend the annual sessions of the Society, branches may be organized with the approval of the Directors. The details of organization are to be left to those forming a branch thus authorized, subject to formal ratification by the Directors.

2. Upon the formation of a branch, the officers chosen shall have the right to propose for corporate membership in the Society such persons as may seem eligible to them, and, pending ratification according to Article IV of the Constitution, these candidates shall receive the Journal and all notices issued by the Society.

3. The annual fee of the members of a branch shall be collected by the Treasurer of the Society, in the usual manner, and in order to defray the current expenses of a branch the Directors shall authorize the Treasurer of the Society to forward from time to time to the duly authorized officer of the branch such sums as may seem proper to the Treasurer. The accounts of the Treasurer of the branch shall be audited annually and a statement of the audit shall be sent to the Treasurer of the Society to be included in his annual report.

4. The President and Secretary of any branch duly authorized as provided under Section 1 shall have the right to sit *ex officio* with the Directors at their meetings and to take part in their deliberations.

THE PLACE OF THE NEAR ORIENT IN THE CAREER OF MAN AND THE TASK OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTALIST*

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UNDER THE PRESENT ARRANGEMENT of a rotating presidency, the American orientalist, at least once in his life, is vouchsafed the opportunity of unburdening his soul to his fellow orientalists at unrestricted length, in complacent emancipation from the terrors of the presidential stop-watch, which he himself at the same time is privileged to wield against his colleagues with the retaliatory rigor of the oriental *lex talionis*.

Following a precedent set by my distinguished predecessor, I am moved to speak today rather by the contemplation of the extraordinary situation in which students of the Orient now find themselves, than by the availability of some particular chapter or fragment of my own researches. For we are confronted today by a responsibility and an opportunity far surpassing in scope and promise anything which even our ardent American imagination of a year ago could have compassed or conceived. In a recent letter from Sir William Ramsay, in response to some suggestions which I had sent him regarding Asia Minor, he refers to the future government of Turkey in these words: 'I have always been much inclined to believe in harnessing America to this business. . . . I should like to see the administration of Turkey put into the hands of an advisory board consisting of men who know something about the country, its history, and its future possibilities. If I were asked, I could name the proper person as chairman, and he is an American . . . an American archaeologist and diplomatist combined.'

Leaving to more competent hands the problems of the well-being and happiness of the peoples living in the former Ottoman Empire, I find in Sir William Ramsay's proposal of an American archaeologist for a position of responsibility in the government of a large section of the Near East a suggestion of the vast extent

* Presidential address delivered before the American Oriental Society in Philadelphia, April 24th, 1919.

of the obligation and the boundlessness of the opportunity now confronting American orientalists who are equipped to carry on researches in these birth-lands of religion and civilization.

Our responsibility as students of man is measured chiefly by the importance of early oriental civilization in the history of mankind viewed *as a whole*. It has long seemed to me that the commanding position of the lands of the Near East in the career of man has been largely obscured by our failure to view them in a deep and broad perspective of world history. It is only as we look far abroad, over many other social groups, that we can properly discern the genetic position of the cultures of the Near East; and we find them unexpectedly intelligible and surprisingly illuminated by the study of analogous situations elsewhere.

Professor F. J. Teggart of the University of California has recently written a very useful and penetrating essay in which this matter is touched upon. He complains of us orientalists that the investigator has limited his observation to the lands of the Nearer East.¹ I have read this statement with much satisfaction, because it accords entirely with my own experience. In endeavoring to make some of the cultural developments in the Near East intelligible to American high school boys and girls, I found admirable materials among the culture traits of the New World. Early Babylonian and Egyptian year-names and the beginnings of early oriental chronology find their best illustration and explanation in such things as the list of year-names recorded in a long series of seventy-one pictures on a buffalo hide made by Lone Dog, a Dakota Indian chief. Similarly the earliest efforts at writing in its pictographic stage may be found exemplified with wonderful clearness and interest in a North American Indian's autobiography narrated in a series of paintings on a buffalo skin which Col. Roosevelt once showed me hanging just inside his door at Sagamore Hill.² Such analogous individual culture traits, of which there are many, and which others have observed before, led me to look into the larger aspects of the physical situation of western culture as compared with that of our Near Eastern world.

¹ F. J. Teggart, *The Processes of History*, Yale Univ. Press, 1918, p. 48.

² See Garrick Mallery, *Picture Writing of the American Indians*, Bureau of Ethnology, vol. 10 (1893).

It is now evident that there are only two regions on the globe in which man has risen from Stone Age savagery to the possession of agriculture, metals, and writing. The independence of these two regions in making these cultural conquests has been conclusively demonstrated. They are geographically widely separated. One of them is in the New World and the other in the Old, and each of them lies along, or on both sides of, a great inter-continental bridge, one joining the two Americas, the other connecting Africa and Eurasia. It necessarily lies outside the scope of this address to discuss what geographical significance there may be in the fact that, in both the Old World and the New, the bridge between the continents formed the center around which took place the development and diffusion of the highest civilization at first attained in either hemisphere.

An examination of the culture situation of the western world as a whole in pre-Columbian times is very instructive. In making a comprehensive reconstruction³ of the career of man in the New World the Americanists have enjoyed enviable freedom from traditional prejudices like those of the old-school classicists, who felt it sacrilege to acknowledge the share of the Orient in the history of civilization, or those of the Egyptologists and Assyriologists, who are often more interested in proving the shores of the Nile or of the Euphrates to have been the oldest home of civilization than to establish the *facts*, whatever the result. To the Americanist it is evident that a culture trait of some complexity, like the cultivation of maize, when it is found *continuously* distributed over a wide area, has been so distributed by a process of diffusion from a common center, and that under such circumstances we cannot assume independent invention.⁴ Without any preconceptions or inherited prejudices he may then proceed to find the center of diffusion for each such cultural conquest. If he finds the lines of diffusion of the most important culture traits persistently converging on the same center, he concludes that this focus was the original home of civiliza-

³ An admirable reconstruction of this kind has been put together in an exceedingly useful book by Clark Wissler, *The American Indian*, New York, 1917, to which the above summary is much indebted.

⁴ Wissler, *op. cit.*, p. 343, and E. Sapir, *Time Perspective in Aboriginal American Culture*, pp. 25-36.

tion in the New World. By this process he has shown that maize has descended from a wild grass in the Maya region of Yucatan,⁵ whence it passed far across both continents from one hunting tribe to another as far as the habitat of each tribe permitted. Similarly the whole cotton complex, including the loom and upward weaving, spread from the middle region of America both northward and southward.⁶ 'The distribution of pottery was still in progress at the opening of the period of discovery'⁷ by European explorers in North America, and the inference is a fair one, according to Wissler, 'that it was distributed from the south,'⁸ for, as he remarks, 'as we know that maize came up from the south, it is reasonable to suppose that pottery came by the same road.'⁹ Similarly it was only the peoples on and around the inter-continental bridge who developed metallurgy, or who possessed the social and administrative organization to practice irrigation on a remarkably extensive scale. Many of the characteristics of the elaborate ritualism of the New World likewise spread from the middle region, especially from the Maya and Inca centers.¹⁰ In the central region also we find the only writing, just in course of transition from the pictographic to the phonetic stage. It spread northward into Mexico, but did not penetrate into South America, which never possessed writing.

Here then we find disclosed in the Western World a nucleus of civilization occupying the middle region of the two continents,—a nucleus which led the cultural development of the entire Western Hemisphere. The leaders in this group were chiefly three peoples: the Maya of Yucatan, the Nahua of Mexico (including especially the Aztec), and finally the Inca of Peru. As over against *the other peoples* of the Western World, this group as a whole was immeasurably superior; while as compared with *each other*, the three members of the group differed greatly. The Maya of Yucatan may have been the original path-finders leading the other two; but it is very important to note that there

⁵ G. N. Collins, 'Pueblo Indian Maize Breeding,' in the *Journal of Heredity*, vol. 5 (1914), No. 6, pp. 255-268; see Wissler, *op. cit.* pp. 27-28.

⁶ Wissler, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-59.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 68.

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 67.

⁹ *Ibid.* p. 69.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 190.

was undoubtedly much interchange of mutual influences among the three, and that the other two in some particulars outdistanced the Maya. Thus, while the Maya never advanced to the production of copper tools, but put up all their great stone structures with only stone tools, the Aztec culture and especially the Inca of Peru had begun the production and use of copper or bronze implements. Similarly the Inca culture made itself so superior in decorative art that it became the center to which all the contiguous cultures were inferior.

The lack of writing throughout most of the territory of the New World has saved the Americanists from the regrettable narrowness, limitations, and often pedantry, of the old time philologist. To be sure, linguistic documents available in modern copies, transcripts, and treatises, besides the original inscriptions, have furnished the Americanists with an insurmountable mass of materials for philological investigation of the New World, and there have been sharp rivalries here between the linguist, the archaeologist, the ethnologist, and the physical anthropologist. All these lines of investigation therefore, and many others, have been indefatigably pursued, and an enormous body of observations and results representing them all has been built up by our Americanists. Neither have these results been kept in water-tight compartments, but the whole body of evidence, from whatever source or of whatever character, has been brought to bear on the career of man in the New World.

Turning from a situation like this, embracing both the continents of the Western Hemisphere, we may apply its lessons very instructively to the Old World. For the Old World is itself made up of two continents, Africa and Eurasia, and as we have already remarked, the earliest civilizations arose and spread on both sides of the inter-continental bridge between them. That the same processes of diffusion across and on both sides of the bridge, which the Americanist finds in the *New World*, were going on for thousands of years in the *Old World*, no one can doubt. But the situation in America has thus far required little consideration of the time element, a factor to which the Americanist is now beginning to devote some attention,¹¹ whereas in

¹¹ See E. Sapir, *Time Perspective in Aboriginal American Culture*, Canada, Department of Mines, Geological Survey, Memoir 90, Toronto, 1916.

the work of the orientalist the time element has been perhaps the most obvious factor of all. For as far back as some six thousand years ago, that is early in the fourth millennium B. C., the peoples on the Nile and the Euphrates had reached essentially the same stage of culture attained by the Maya, Aztec, and Inca.

Grouped about the Old World inter-continental bridge from the Nile to the Euphrates, we have therefore a nucleus of cultures which after 4000 B. C. had reached about the same point of advancement as that attained in 1492 A. D. by the New World group in an analogous situation. Each group in its respective situation was the sole nucleus of civilization, and was far superior to the less advanced cultures stretching far across the great outlying continental areas. The diffusion of culture from the New World group, northward and southward across both continents, continuing as it did down into our own times, is like a laboratory experiment in human experience, set going for the benefit of us orientalists, and demonstrating to us what must have been going on around the Egypto-Babylonian group for thousands of years before the age of written documents. This conclusion is confirmed as we examine the relation of the Egypto-Babylonian group to prehistoric man round about it.

The discoveries of the last twenty-five years have revealed to us the career of prehistoric man, especially in Europe, so that its successive stages, clearly differentiated and stratigraphically observable, have been arranged in unquestionable chronological sequence through probably not less than 50,000 and perhaps nearly 150,000 years of struggle with the material world,—a struggle whose progress has left behind a long trail of ever more carefully wrought implements, at first of stone, and later of bone, horn, ivory, wood, and eventually copper. These remains not only carry us through age after age of cultural development on the part of man, but also of successive geological processes and changes in climate which have fashioned the present surface of the earth.

We see the hunters of prehistoric Europe wandering through the tropical forests, especially in the regions which are now France and Spain, but also across the land-bridges at Gibraltar and Sicily, which connected Europe and Africa until far down in the Neolithic Age. This intimate connection between southern Europe and northern Africa made culture diffusion

across the Mediterranean easy, and before the end of the Quaternary Age the entire Mediterranean was fringed with communities of palaeolithic hunters. Today their weapons of flint are found encircling practically the whole Mediterranean.

This fact brings the Near East into the great current of prehistoric life. Whether the rate of advance was uniform and the successive stages therefore contemporaneous at first all around the Mediterranean is uncertain. If compared with the southern shores of the Mediterranean, Europe was undoubtedly at a serious disadvantage, as the northern mantle of ice crept southward and thousands of years of rigorous cold set in. It is now evident that the south-eastern corner of the Mediterranean eventually drew away from prehistoric Europe, and probably from prehistoric Asia also. The great Pleiocene rift in north-eastern Africa, which we call Egypt, furnished a home in every way so sheltered, so generously supplied by nature, and in climate so benign, that it enabled the savage Stone Age hunters of the Sahara, who had taken refuge there in Quaternary times,¹² to leave Europe far behind in the advance toward civilization. As the Euphrates valley followed in this advance, it was in touch with the Nile culture, and there thus grew up the Egypto-Babylonian culture-nucleus on both sides of the inter-continental bridge connecting Africa and Eurasia.

Elsewhere, throughout the great prehistoric world of Africa and Eurasia, there was no culture higher than that of the savage or barbarous Neolithic hunting peoples, like those of the American continents on both sides of the central culture-nucleus. It is true that an enormous amount of detailed research remains to be done in the study of man's career in the eastern hemisphere, but enough has already been done to reveal the general situation. Long after the Egypto-Babylonian group at the nexus of the two continents had gained metal, writing, and highly developed government, the surrounding peoples far back into Africa and Eurasia had not yet gained these fundamental elements of civili-

¹² See M. Blanckenhorn, 'Die Geschichte des Nil Stroms in der Tertiäre und Quartärperiode, sowie des paläolithischen Menschen in Aegypten,' *Zeitschr. d. Gesell. f. Erdkunde*, 1902, pp. 753-762. Also G. Schweinfurth, 'Kiesel-Artefacte in der äthiopischen Schotter-Terrasse und auf den Plateau Höhen von Theben,' *Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.* 34 (1902, pp. 293-308) and two additional reports by the same observer, *ibid.* vols. 35 and 36.

zation and were still in a primitive stage of culture development. As we move out from the Egypto-Babylonian group the culture level declines and civilization fades and disappears.

The only other center of culture which might be compared in age with the Egypto-Babylonian group is China. Regarding the age of Chinese culture, however, there is wide misapprehension. The oldest *contemporary* annals of China written on wood and bamboo date from the second century B. C., and the shamanistic texts on bone, the oldest writing discovered in China, are dated by Laufer, as he has kindly informed me, in the second millennium B. C. The oldest dated specimens of bronze made by the Chinese belong in the latter part of the second millennium, and not one is safely datable earlier than the thirteenth century B. C. China's remarkable list of civilized contributions to the western world is very late. This is well illustrated by China's splendid gift of porcelain to the nations of the west after the development of modern sea trade with Chinese ports. The production of porcelain was an art which grew out of a knowledge not only of pottery but also of glass and glaze. The latter arose in Egypt as early as the thirty-fifth century B. C., and, spreading rather slowly to Western Asia, did not reach China until Hellenistic times, 'in the second century B. C. or earlier.'¹³ The evidence all points to the conclusion that Chinese culture developed immensely later than that of the Egypto-Babylonian group, and there are few if any competent Sinologists who would dissent from this conclusion. While it is evident that China passed through a long development in detachment from the Western Asiatic world, nevertheless as Laufer has well stated, 'the conviction is gaining ground . . . that Chinese culture in its material and economic foundation, has a common root with our own.'¹⁴ He would place this common source somewhere in Western Asia, without venturing to mention any particular geographical region. For myself I cannot doubt where this western source is to be placed. We must find it in the Egypto-Babylonian group; for the excavations in the regions of Asia surrounding this group, in Asia Minor, Turkestan, and Elam

¹³ B. Laufer, 'Beginnings of Porcelain in China,' *Publications of the Field Museum of Natural History*, Chicago, 1917, p. 139.

¹⁴ B. Laufer, *Journal of Race Development*, 5 (1914-15), pp. 167-170.

(Persia), have disclosed very clearly the later and inferior character of the cultures there, and the direction of the culture drift; although the excessively early and totally ungrounded chronology set up by deMorgan and Pumpelly has obscured the real situation and misled many (see Thureau-Dangin's chronology below, note 21).

It is therefore quite possible to indicate in very general terms the relation of the Egypto-Babylonian group to the vast undeveloped prehistoric world of savagery and barbarism which, in the fourth and fifth millenniums before Christ, extended from the Atlantic across Africa and Eurasia to the Indian and Pacific Oceans. In the midst of this far-reaching wilderness of primitive life there was a single oasis of advanced culture from which the forces of civilization gradually diffused a higher type of life among the surrounding peoples. The movement of such influences, and the detachment of the group which eventually carried agriculture and cattle-breeding into China, lie so far back in the prehistoric age, that the practice of milking and of weaving wool had not yet developed.¹⁵ Of such movements we shall never learn very much. On the other hand the process of diffusion continued far down into the historic age, and much of it therefore took place almost under our eyes.

Thus the excavations in Crete, especially the brilliant discoveries of Sir Arthur Evans, enable us to watch the course of cultural diffusion Europeward after civilization arose in the Egypto-Babylonian group. The drift of oriental civilization toward Europe is now clearly observable. Sir Arthur Evans has remarked: 'Ancient Egypt itself can no longer be regarded as something apart from general human history.'¹⁶ The same statement may be made of Babylonia also, as a member of the Egypto-Babylonian group, though the civilization of Babylonia was retarded in reaching the Aegean world, because it did not lie on the Mediterranean as did Egypt, with the island outposts of south-eastern Europe just opposite.

Much of the culture drift from the Egypto-Babylonian group

¹⁵ B. Laufer, *l. c.*

¹⁶ Presidential address before the British Association for the Advancement of Science, Newcastle-on-Tyne, 1916, reprinted in *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution*, 1917, pp. 425-445; p. 442.

Asiaward took place also in the full light of the historic age. This is far too large a subject to be discussed here, but such obvious later examples as the borrowing of writing by the Iranians and East Indians, or the eastward expansion of the art of glazing just mentioned, will occur to all. This whole question of the relation of the Egypto-Babylonian group to the surrounding culture in Asia is of fundamental importance. There is a great fringe of Asiatic peoples, often politically and *always* culturally dependent on the Egypto-Babylonian group, which we have hardly begun to investigate. DeMorgan in Elam on the east, Pumpelly in West Turkestan on the north, a number of investigators in Asia Minor, lamentably incomplete and out-of-date researches in Phœnicia since Renan, and a series of well-conducted excavations in Palestine,—all these endeavors have raised almost as many problems as they have solved. Enough has been done, however, to demonstrate that the ancient civilizations of the Near East which we have called the Egypto-Babylonian group (including in this term the derived and dependent contiguous cultures) occupy a unique and commanding position as the earliest center of the diffusion of civilization in the long course of human development.

From these civilizations as our base we are able to push backward *up* the centuries and connect with the prehistoric stages which preceded civilization and developed into it; while in the other direction we may follow *down* the centuries from the civilizations of the Near East to the Neolithic barbarism of Europe which was stimulated into civilized life by the cultural influences from the other shores of the Mediterranean. In this vast cultural synthesis, embracing the whole known career of man, the civilizations of the Near Orient are like the keystone of the arch, with prehistoric man on one side and civilized Europe on the other.

We have thus articulated with the career of man as a whole the great nucleus of early civilizations around the inter-continental bridge, and in so doing we discern this Egypto-Babylonian group not only as the culmination of an enormously long prehistoric development going before, but also as the stimulating force which set going and long contributed to the secondary civilization of Europe. The investigation of the various stages in

the course of the process by which the Egypto-Babylonian group influenced the great world around it is still hardly begun. Similarly the course of the development within the group itself, and the relation to each other of the two leading members of the group, Egypt and Babylonia, make up a formidable series of problems almost untouched. The process of diffusion within the Egypto-Babylonian group, although retarded by the great expanse of Arabian desert thrust northward like a separating wedge between them, must have been going on from the remotest times. It is in dealing with this very problem that the current methods of oriental science have been characteristically exhibited.

Thus we find Hommel deriving Egyptian writing from that of Babylonia, and deMorgan following Hommel's conclusions as if they had become accepted scientific demonstrations. It seems never to have occurred to either of these investigators to examine Egyptian writing with reference to the environment in the midst of which it was being used. Egyptian writing is both a zoological and a botanical garden of fauna and flora peculiar to north-eastern Africa. It is likewise a workshop of tools and implements of exclusively Nilotic character. But having set up a superficial comparison between Babylonian and Egyptian writing, and having discovered a forced resemblance between two or three Babylonian and Egyptian signs, these scholars regard this flimsy evidence as sufficient to prove the Babylonian origin of Egyptian writing. Wherein lies the difficulty? The discernment of the truth demands a slight knowledge of the botany and zoology, and of the arts and crafts of the Nile valley; but these are things which lie quite outside of the grammar and the dictionary, or the philological apparatus with which the orientalist is frequently so exclusively armed and equipped.

The heavy burden of recovering and mastering the lost oriental languages has made us orientalists chiefly philologists and verbalists, equipped to utilize *written* documents, and a little perplexed and bewildered in the presence of other kinds of evidence. Our enormous philological task has led us to regard even the written documents rather as materials for building up the dictionary and grammar than as historical sources. As a fellow-sufferer from this too exclusively philological discipline, let me make it clear that I am not inviting my colleagues to this con-

fessional without being painfully aware that I must also kneel there myself! With an equipment like this we bear the responsibility of investigating a vast complex of civilizations, each of which has left behind enormous bodies of evidence *not in written form*, to say nothing of still surviving and little altered physical situations, the habitats environing these civilizations, all equally demanding investigation in many different and highly important respects. For example, the methods of the Americanists, which would have involved some attention to the difference between the flora and fauna of Asia and those of the Nile valley, would have spared us Hommel's unhappy theory of the Asiatic origin of Egyptian writing. Although Hommel's method was fundamentally wrong, nevertheless he was assuming with propriety the process of diffusion among the members of the Egypto-Babylonian group. To trace this diffusion successfully however will first require what has not yet been done, viz. the thorough and systematic investigation *by itself* of each culture of the group, employing all the available evidence, of whatever nature it may be, which is still observable in the habitat of each culture, just as the Americanists have been doing for North and South America. Let us glance for a moment at the different lines of the highly diversified evidence.

The most obvious is of course *written evidence*, which we have been employing to the exclusion of nearly everything else. We may therefore pass on from such evidence to that of *archaeology* already mentioned. The conscientious utilization of all archaeological evidence is a matter of surprisingly recent date. The classical archaeologists of the German expedition which excavated Olympia found prehistoric bronzes which they threw aside with indifference and finally left lying on a rubbish heap, where they were noticed by Sophus Müller, who rescued them and carried them to Copenhagen. There they are now preserved in the national museum. Such limited vision, which could find nothing of importance in prehistoric bronzes, has been all too prevalent in oriental research. One of the leading orientalists of Europe not so many years ago inspected a fine old Babylonian bronze statuette brought to him by an antiquity dealer, and refused to purchase it for the museum under his charge, with the remark, 'There is no inscription on it.' The evidence which it furnished, in the realm of form, technique, craftsmanship, cos-

tume, weapons, and the like, spoke a language with which he was not familiar.

How many Aegean archaeologists are at present, or in normal times would be, busily engaged in putting together the materials which will exhibit the transition from the old pre-Greek Aegean civilization, across the gap caused by the intrusion of the Greek barbarians, to the rise of Greek civilization after 800 B. C.! Have we any orientalists piecing together the archaeological evidence which undoubtedly would greatly aid in tracing the transition from the crude art of Urnina in Sumerian Lagash to the marvelous sculpture of Sargon and Naramsim at Semitic Akkad? All honor to the memory of Dr. Ward for the monumental repertoire of the lapidary art of Western Asia which he gave us. But his work is not, and probably was not intended to be, a stylistic study of the wonderful heraldic art of Babylonia, and for such studies we are still dependent upon classical archaeologists like Furtwängler and the younger Curtius, both of whom deplore the lack of such investigations by orientalists themselves.¹⁷

As a matter of history the archaeologist has not received a very hospitable reception in the ranks of orientalists. One recalls the somewhat brusque notice served on the prehistoric archaeologists by Lepsius when they presumed to invade the Nile valley and reported the presence of Stone Age man there. Or similarly the sarcastic reception accorded Puchstein, a classical archaeologist, forsooth, who, without any knowledge of Assyrian grammar, had the effrontery to invade the realm of Assyrian architecture, and the audacity to assume that he could understand architectural forms even when they arose on the shores of the Tigris! If the archaeologist is now finding himself somewhat more at home on the Nile than on the Tigris and Euphrates, that is in some measure due to the *rapprochement* between the classical archaeologists and the Egyptologists inevitably resulting from the disclosure of the intimate relations between the Aegean and the Nile as revealed by the excavations in Crete. Nevertheless even the preliminary special investigations in Egyptian archaeology

¹⁷ See A. Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, 3, p. 2 and L. Curtius, 'Studien zur Geschichte der altorientalischen Kunst,' *Sitzungsber. der kgl. Bayer. Akad. der Wiss.* 1912, 7te Abhandlung.

are still so largely lacking that there are few men who would now venture to write a handbook of the subject like any one of a dozen on Greek archaeology.

Thus on both sides of the continental bridge the necessary fundamental archaeological investigations indispensable to a final comparison of the Babylonian and Egyptian cultures are largely lacking. Ask any one of a number of simple questions in the archaeological history of Western Asia and the answer is wanting. For example, when was the potter's wheel introduced into Babylonia? If we turn to Hancock's *Mesopotamian Archaeology* we find that all the information available to the author in discussing this fundamentally important matter was a statement from the archaeologically tenuous report of the last American expedition at Bismya. A year after Hancock's book appeared, Koldewey included some useful remarks on the subject in his popular book on Babylon,¹⁸ but we are still ignorant of the date when the potter's wheel was first used in Babylonia.

As we now know that the potter's wheel appeared in Egypt in the early dynasties (at the latest the Third Dynasty, 30th century B. C.), the establishment of the date of its appearance in Babylonia would furnish a chronological comparison of the highest importance. If the Babylonian date should be later than that of the Egyptian potter's wheel, it would confirm the present indication already furnished by the Babylonian lapidary's adoption of the Egyptian bow-drill, viz. that the machine with revolving vertical shaft, including the crank-shaft drill, the bow-drill, and the potter's wheel, were of Egyptian origin and penetrated thence into Asia.

We are similarly ignorant of the date of the appearance of the composite bow in Asia, a weapon which has a record of shooting nearly fifteen hundred feet;¹⁹ and which must have revolution-

¹⁸ R. Koldewey, *Das wiedererstehende Babylon*, Leipzig, 1913, p. 247.

¹⁹ See S. T. Pope, 'Yahi Archery' (in *University of Calif. Publ. in American Archaeology*, 13, No. 3, p. 125) who cites a record of 459 yards made in 1914 "with a very old Turkish composite bow," also *Badminton Library*, volume on Archery by C. J. Longman, who gives 482 yards as an authenticated record for the long-distance capacity of a composite bow in the hands of a Turk. This exceeds the *maximum* record of the simple long bow (360 yards) by nearly 35%, and its *average* record by probably over 100%

ized ancient warfare like the introduction of the modern high-power rifle. It appears in Egypt in the sixteenth century B. C., and eventually passed clear across Asia into Alaska and down the Pacific coast of America to southern California, where it disappears.

The significance of the dates when a given cultural attainment appears in a succession of contiguous regions is strikingly brought out by a series of sequence maps each showing the distribution of a culture trait at a particular date. Thus in a map showing by means of shading the distribution of the art of glaze, only Egypt would be shaded in the thirty-fifth century B. C.; a map of the twenty-fifth century might possibly extend the shading to Crete; the fifteenth century would show the shading in Egypt, Crete, Syria, and perhaps Assyria; the eighth century would show it in Egypt, Syria, Mesopotamia, and probably Babylonia;²⁰ the fifth century would add Persia, and the second century even China. Until the archaeological investigation of the different centers in the Egypto-Babylonian group has gone far enough to enable us to build up sequence maps of this kind showing the diffusion of the fundamentals of civilization, we shall not be able to demonstrate the direction of diffusion as between Babylonia and Egypt, nor to determine which of these two great cultures was the original center.

Such a comparison will require also the recovery of the *pre-historic* culture of Babylonia. The discovery of the prehistoric cemeteries of Egypt twenty-five years ago, and the subsequent study of the archaeological evidence which they contain, have disclosed to us a culture development reaching back a thousand years earlier than the oldest remains yet found in Babylonia,²¹ which it is now evident belong in the thirty-first or thirty-second centuries B. C. We still lack the prehistoric development of Babylonian culture, but the primitive character of Sumerian

²⁰ Koldewey, *Das wiedererstehende Babylon*, Leipzig, 1913, pp. 242-250. It is evident that the forms of glass found by Koldewey at Babylon are Egyptian and must have been at first imported. Exactly when the *manufacture* of glazed ware and glass began in Babylonia is still unsettled.

²¹ This is on the basis of the reconstructed Babylonian chronology of which the latest and most carefully documented statement has been furnished by Thureau-Dangin, in *La chronologie des dynasties de Sumer et d'Accad*, Paris, Leroux, 1918.

art in the thirtieth century B. C., as disclosed for example in the reliefs of Urnina, which are not as good as those of the Maya of Yucatan at a practically Stone Age stage of culture, shows that the beginnings of the civilized stage in Babylonia are not likely to have gone back very far in the fourth millennium B. C.²²

Besides archaeological researches there are other lines of investigation quite indispensable to a solution of our great problems, and a very important place among these belongs to *physical anthropology*. Much discredit has of late been thrown upon statistics like those of brachycephaly and dolichocephaly, and I have heard and read remarks calculated to discredit all work in physical anthropology. But such research is not to be limited to craniometry, and important additional criteria are now being developed by physical anthropologists. Moreover it should not be forgotten that even the problems of *culture* may be most unexpectedly illuminated by a series of human bodies, especially if they are well preserved, as in the Nile valley. The earliest prehistoric graves of Egypt contain bodies which display the practice of circumcision, thus dating this custom in Egypt as far back as the Fifth Millennium before Christ, and probably establishing that country as the original home of the practice.²³ In the alimentary tracts of practically all of these earliest bodies of prehistoric Egypt investigation has demonstrated the presence of barley, while about ten per cent contain also millet.²⁴ These are the earliest known examples of domesticated grains, and the

²² At this point the cultures of the Nile and of the Euphrates display plentiful archaeological evidences of diffusion from one to the other. Besides the hackneyed examples of the pear-shaped mace head and the cylinder seal, there is the use of animal and human figures as decorative motives in balanced, responsive, or antithetic arrangement. The earliest Egyptian examples are far older than those of Babylonia; but as Curtius has remarked ('*Studien zur Geschichte der altorientalischen Kunst*,' *Sitzungsber. der kgl. Bayer. Akad.* 1912, 7te Abhandlung), the Babylonian lapidaries, in their marvelous decorative art, have made much more wholehearted, powerful, vigorous, and effective use of this heraldic decorative style than have the Egyptians.

²³ Elliot Smith, *The Ancient Egyptians*, p. 55.

²⁴ Netolitzky, 'Neue Funde prähistorischer Nahrungs- und Heilmittel,' in *Xenia, Hommage internationale à l'université nationale de Grèce à l'occasion du soixante-quinzième anniversaire de sa fondation*, pp. 225 ff.; Hrozný, *Getreide*, p. 181.

point I wish to make here is that these significant discoveries in human culture were made on or in human bodies. Similarly such bodies offer our earliest materials for the study of disease among civilized peoples, the rise of the practice of surgery and dentistry, etc. Yet the ancient human bodies discovered by the last American expedition in Babylonia were thrown out on the rubbish heaps, as unworthy of preservation!

We have just referred to the domestication of grains, a matter which suggests the importance of *botany* and the whole range of vegetable life in the study of any ancient people. Fewer areas of the natural world have been more completely ignored by oriental research. Schweinfurth deplotes the lack of interest in such studies among students of the ancient world.²⁵ Hrozný calls attention to an effort by one of his colleagues to identify an ancient Assyro-Babylonian sign for grain as a designation for maize, a cereal which did not reach the old world, as most of our children find out in kindergarten, until after the discovery of America!²⁶ Koernicke, the great specialist in cereals, urged upon the learned societies of Europe the importance of botanical investigation in the ancient lands of the Near East, and for many years endeavored to secure their support for a botanical expedition there, but without success.²⁷ For lack of such support it was not until 1906 that, under instructions from Schweinfurth and Koernicke, the wild ancestor of domestic wheat was found in Palestine by Aaronsohn.²⁸ This discovery demonstrates at once that the domestication of the wild grasses from which our

²⁵ Schweinfurth, *Annales du Service des Antiquités Égyptiennes*, Cairo, 1906, pp. 203-204.

²⁶ Hrozný, *Das Getreide im alten Babylonien*, p. 4; compare *Zeitschr. f. Assyriologie*, 23, p. 40.

²⁷ Schweinfurth, *ibid.* pp. 193 ff.

²⁸ Aaronsohn and Schweinfurth, 'Die Auffindung des wilden Emmers in Nord-Palaestina,' *Alt-Neuland*, 3, No. 7-8, pp. 216-220; *Vossische Zeitung*, Sept. 21, 1906, republished in *Annales du Service des Antiquités Égyptiennes*, Cairo, 1906, pp. 193-204; O. F. Cook, 'Wild Wheat in Palestine,' U. S. Dept. of Agric., *Bureau of Plant Industry, Bull.* No. 274, Washington, 1913; G. Schweinfurth, 'Ueber die von A. Aaronsohn ausgeführten Nachforschungen nach dem wilden Emmer,' *Berichte der Deutschen Botanischen Gesell.* 26a (1908), pp. 309-324; A. Aaronsohn, 'Agricultural Explorations in Palestine,' U. S. Dept. of Agric., *Bureau of Plant Industry, Bull.* No. 180, Washington, 1910.

cereals are descended took place in the region of the inter-continental bridge, and was the work of the peoples of the Egypto-Babylonian group. For the wild wheat or emmer (*Triticum dicoccum dicoccoides*, or better *hermonis*, Cook), is always found in company with wild barley (*Hordeum spontaneum*), while wild rye (*Secale montanum*) and wild oats (*Avena strigosa*) are found in the same region, the last in Egypt. There can be no doubt that the occurrence of all these wild ancestors of our leading cereals in this region indicates where they were domesticated. The settlement of this question is another fatal blow to the theory of western origins set forth in S. Reinach's very able essay *Le Mirage Oriental*.

Whether the rise of agriculture took place in Babylonia or Egypt is still an unsettled question. Hrozny has made the interesting observation that the Babylonian word for emmer, or split wheat, the earliest form of cultivated wheat, viz. *buṭuttu*, is the same as its Egyptian name, *bodet* (*boṭet*). Hrozny concludes at once that the Egyptians borrowed it from Babylonia.²⁹ But the word is as old in Egyptian documents as in those of Babylonia, while *the thing it designates* can be traced back in Egypt to a point a thousand years earlier than as yet in Babylonia. The evidence thus far available therefore is more favorable to a diffusion from the Nile to the Euphrates³⁰ than the reverse. It can be demonstrated also that the Egyptians devised the plow by an adaptation of the hoe, showing that the plow grew up in the course of the evolution of the Egyptian wheat and barley complex as a Nilotic product.*

The consideration of the plow, involving a draught animal, raises the whole question of *animal life* and its far-reaching importance for the investigation of the ancient world. Yet what have we orientalist accomplished in the utilization of the vast

²⁹ F. Hrozny, 'Das Getreide im alten Babylonien,' *Sitzungber. der Kaiserl. Akad. in Wien*, Phil.-hist. Classe, 173, 1ste Abhandl., pp. 69-70.

³⁰ Although wild emmer has not yet been found in north-eastern Africa, it should be noted that botanical exploration there is still far from complete, and the nummulitic limestone crevices where Aaronsohn commonly found his wild emmer growing abounded in the limestone river terraces of the prehistoric Nile.

* See demonstration in the author's William Ellery Hale Lectures, soon to be published in the *Scientific Monthly*.

body of evidence available in the fauna of the monuments? The only comprehensive treatises available are those of specialists in animal husbandry, general zoologists, and palaeontologists. These students of the natural world, however great their ability, have not commanded the monumental material which would enable them to reach final results.³¹ The investigations of Duerst, based on insufficient materials, and much affected by the now discredited older chronology of Western Asia, especially the excessive dates computed by deMorgan, have led him to find the origin of the leading domestic animals in Asia. Later investigations by the very able Frenchmen, Lortet and Gaillard, covering a larger body of ancient remains than have ever before been at the disposal of any scientist, have shown that Duerst's alleged demonstration of an Asiatic origin of the domestic cattle of Egypt is without foundation. Hilzheimer has recently identified the wild ancestor of the long-horned cattle of Egypt (*Bos africanus*) on monuments from more recent excavations³² not known to Duerst. In confirmation of Hilzheimer came news of the fact that a portion of the actual skull of the wild ancestor, the urus (*Bos primigenius*) of pleistocene age, had been found in Egypt. As Lortet concludes, therefore, there is no occasion to seek the wild ancestors of the earliest domestic animals of ancient Egypt in Asia. They lived in Africa and were domesticated in the lower Nile valley at an enormously remote date. They are shown already domesticated on monuments as old as the middle of the Fourth Millennium B. C.

This is far too large a subject to be discussed, as I am obliged to do it here, in a paragraph, and I hope to return to it elsewhere with sufficient space to employ all the available monumental material, which is exceedingly interesting and significant. The discovery of the skull of the urus just mentioned suggests the importance of *geology* in our researches. The exploration of

³¹ The leading treatises are: Lortet and Gaillard, 'La Faune momifiée de l'ancienne Égypte,' *Archives du Museum d'Histoire naturelle*, Lyons, 1903 on; Keller, *Abstammung der ältesten Haustiere*, Zürich, 1902; Duerst, *Die Rinder von Babylonien, Assyrien und Aegypten*, Berlin, 1899; Hilzheimer, *Die Haustiere in Abstammung und Entwicklung*, Stuttgart, 1910.

³² Hilzheimer, in Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sa'-hu-Re'*, vol. 2, Text, pp. 173-175.

the pleistocene river terraces of Egypt has hardly begun, and we know almost nothing of what they may contain of animal and human remains. But a beginning has been made, and the researches of Blanckenhorn on the geology of the Nile rift have furnished a sound basis for further investigation.³³ On the other hand the inaccessibility and insecurity of the Euphrates and Tigris regions hitherto have so retarded such investigation in these two river valleys that their detailed geology is quite unknown. Not only the buried evidence of the Tigris and Euphrates river terraces, but even the surface evidence, still remains absolutely untouched. Along these terraces, either on or under the surface, must be found the bodies and the works of men, and the bones of animals, which will enable us to recover the lost prehistoric chapters of the human career in Western Asia. It is important to notice that the prehistoric burials which have revealed the pre-dynastic culture of the fourth and fifth millenniums in the Nile valley were not found in the alluvium, but alongside it in the river terraces. Who knows what those terraces may yet yield along the two rivers?

It should be remembered also that pottery and other evidences of human handicrafts have been found by borings in the lower levels of the Egyptian alluvium as deep as 35, 71, and 87 feet.³⁴ These remains must date from the Glacial Age (of Europe), thousands of years before the earliest prehistoric cemeteries of Egypt. The alluvium of Babylonia, like that of Egypt, being the latest geological creation of the river, is intimately involved in the career of the prehistoric men who dwelt upon it, and it is highly important to determine the age of the venerable Plain of Shinar, as the Hebrews called earliest Babylonia. Based on the evidence that Eridu was a sea-port some four thousand years ago, though it is now perhaps a hundred and twenty-five miles from the Persian Gulf, one may calculate that about 7000 B. C.

³³ A convenient summary of his volume on the subject will be found in an essay by Blanckenhorn, 'Die Geschichte des Nil-Stroms in der Tertär- und Quartär-Periode,' etc., *Zeitschr. d. Gesell. f. Erdkunde*, 1902, pp. 694-722, 753-762.

³⁴ Horner, 'An Account of Some Recent Researches Near Cairo, *Phil. Trans. of the Royal Soc.*, London, 1855, pp. 105-138, and 1858, pp. 53-92; and deMorgan, *Recherches sur les origines*, 1, Paris, 1896, p. 19.

the Babylonian plain was just beginning to form, and the site of later Babylon did not yet exist. I have been using this computation in university lectures for several years past as an obvious fact and the same observation has now been published by Petrie.³⁵ On the other hand Sir William Willcocks has recently called attention to the fact that Eridu, though long an inland river town, might have been a sea-port on the river, like Bosra, and the fact that it was a port four thousand years ago does not show that it was on the Persian Gulf³⁶ at that time. In response to my query regarding the distribution of the alluvium which had come down around Eridu in the last four thousand years, Sir William has very kindly written me explaining that in his judgment the delta had expanded sidewise [meaning, I take it, as one opens a lady's fan] and not by advance of the shore-line parallel with itself. This would complicate such calculations as the one just offered. It is evident that the final resolution of this important problem will require the collection and critical scrutiny of all the documentary evidence available, combined with an exhaustive examination of the region by a specialist in recent and surface geology, who should also be familiar with the valuable observations which the long experience of Sir William Willcocks with the rivers of the Orient has so thoroughly equipped him to make.

The *hydrography* of the Near East is also a problem of the greatest importance in our researches. There seems to be an impression that any country in a region of rainy winter and dry summer must necessarily resort to irrigation,—a supposition of course disproved by northern Mediterranean countries like Greece, where grain has always been cultivated and brought to harvest without irrigation. An eminent orientalist refers to the 'heavy rainfall' of Babylonia, whereas it was the fact of a rainfall of less than three inches which inexorably forced the early Sumerians to resort to irrigation. The necessity of controlling the floods for the purposes of agriculture thus became the most influential factor in their material life, and of course profoundly

³⁵ W. M. F. Petrie, *Eastern Exploration Past and Future*, London, 1918, p. 69.

³⁶ Sir Wm. Willcocks, *From the Garden of Eden to the Crossing of Jordan*. French Institute, Cairo, 1918.

modified their traditions, their religion, and their whole conception of life.³⁷

As we look out over the eastern hemisphere, with its great central nucleus of Egypto-Babylonian culture on each side of the inter-continental bridge, and realize that throughout these birth-lands of civilization both the life of man, and the nature and characteristics of his habitat always conditioning that life, are now opened to unrestricted investigation by the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, it is evident that we need the assistance of men thoroughly trained in archaeology, physical anthropology, botany, paleontology, geology, meteorology, and anthropo-geography. These men cannot of course all be orientalists, nor do they need to be so. But one or more such men should at different times accompany every American expedition which goes into the field. There is little doubt that the universities would be willing to contribute the services of natural scientists, who would gladly coöperate, and, as expedition members under no expense, would give us their needed aid from season to season. Only in this way shall we accomplish in the Old World what the Americanists are so successfully doing for the New.

Finally may I offer a few further constructive suggestions? The departments of oriental studies which the American universities are now maintaining are built up, as we all know, on the model of a traditional department of Greek or Latin organized to teach languages. The futility of such an arrangement is evident when it is recognized that we are engaged not only in teaching oriental languages, but also *in recovering a great group of lost civilizations*. It is obvious that the orientalist who is a university teacher is as unable to meet the requirements of his science single-handed as the astronomer would be to study the skies without his observatory or his staff of assistants. He cannot do his work without a properly equipped building, which should be a veritable laboratory of systematic oriental research, containing *all the available evidence of every kind and character*, whether in originals or reproductions, in photographs, hand copies, drawings, surveys, maps, plans, note-books, and journals,

³⁷ See Ellsworth Huntington's valuable contributions to this subject in '*The Pulse of Asia*' and various monographs.

filed in systematically arranged archives. This equipment is as necessary to a proper study of the career of man as an astronomical observatory with its files of observations, computations, and negatives to an investigation of the career of the universe. It is evident that, wherever possible, not only the methods but especially the equipment of natural science should be applied to our study of man in the Orient, because not only the vast body of documents which he has himself left behind, but also *all data and observations revealing the conditions of his life*, must be systematically gathered, filed, and housed together, as are the data of the astronomer.

As a whole such an institution might be known as the Oriental Institute. In coöperation with the director of the institute the members of the oriental department should all have their individual workshops in the building, like the staff of an observatory, and liberal provision should be made for clerical help in accessioning, filing, recording, copying, and editing for publication. A modern photographic equipment with dark-rooms and apparatus for projection and copying should form a part of the whole plant. Combined with this should be a draughting room with at least one skilled draughtsman for preparing maps, plans, diagrams, and fac-similes. Young men and women holding departmental fellowships might make a part of this personnel, but stipends for young assistants already in possession of the doctorate should also be made available. Through the generosity of Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr. and the sympathetic coöperation of President Harry Pratt Judson, the Board of Trustees of the University of Chicago have just founded an Oriental Institute which will endeavor to carry out a program for the collection, organization and study of evidence such as that just suggested. The Institute will be housed in the Haskell Oriental Museum, which will thus become a kind of historical laboratory, with ample room for the installation of the equipment and arrangements above enumerated. Besides the necessary clerical help, its staff will be made up of the members of the Department of Oriental Languages of the University of Chicago.*

* It was not yet possible to announce Mr. Rockefeller's gift and the organization of the new Oriental Institute at the time when this address was delivered, and it here forms a later insertion. A fuller announcement will be found in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, July, 1919.

The Oriental Institute should maintain *close relations with the scientific departments* of the university, and should include in its records and its files data furnishing full information along the lines of natural science already discussed in this address. At the same time the small group of universities capable of maintaining these Oriental Institutes should coöperate, and each institute should make every effort to supplement the work of the others and avoid unnecessary duplication, just as we find the various astronomical observatories of the country are doing.

The astronomer is often required to visit distant regions to make his observations. This is *constantly* true of the orientalist. The budget of the institute should therefore make liberal provision for traveling expenses for an annual visit by the director or one of his assistants to the lands of the Near East. The essential additions to the archives of the institute which would result are so obviously necessary that they furnish every motive for granting the orientalist sufficient freedom from a teaching programme to enable him to make periodic visits to the East.

The presence of these orientalists in the regions where the great problems of future humanistic research are to be solved might be of essential value to a comprehensive organization, effected for systematized investigation in the lands of the Near East, having a fully developed staff and a permanent home there. For it is evident that to do this work in statesmanlike recognition of all the requirements, to organize the attack along all the lines of investigation demanded by the situation, it will be necessary to establish a permanent American Institute in the Near East with two branches working in close coöperation: one in Asia and the other in the Nile valley.

The Asiatic headquarters should carry on a comprehensive campaign of investigation, excavating wherever necessary in Babylonia and Assyria, but also in the contiguous regions of the dependent and derived cultures. Our responsibility for research in Palestine will be met by the new American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem. Syria furthermore is a region dotted with a surprisingly large number of buried cities, which have been almost completely neglected, although they are likely to furnish decisive bodies of evidence in tracing the diffusion of culture from Babylonia and Egypt to Asia Minor. Simi-

larly Asia Minor itself should be a prime object of attack, not only in clearing up the problem of the Hittites, but also as a channel of connection by which early oriental civilization passed into Europe. Indeed the correlation of the whole ancient Near East with the development of early Europe should be one of the leading tasks of the enterprise.

While recognizing, as I have done, the fundamental importance of all researches in natural science, anthropology, archaeology, etc., which can in any way throw light on the course of human development, it would at the same time be an unjust distortion of the situation not to include also in the work of the suggested American Institute the vast mass of written evidence. There is crying necessity for a systematically organized effort to save all the inscribed monuments and written documents from destruction, and to publish them in a final and permanent corpus. A carefully developed subdivision of the American Institute should be organized especially for this work and generously supported.

Space and time will not permit even a sketch of the organization of the suggested American Institute in the Near East, but I believe that the project can be so draughted as to command the respect and support of the administrators of our great financial foundations. As we have seen, it is only in the Near East that the lacking stages in our knowledge of the human career, the stages which carried man out of savagery and far along into the age of civilization, can be recovered and restored to their proper place in a great synthesis of the developing universe which the progress of scientific research is now making it possible to build up.

Would not our astronomers all agree that it is as important to trace the path along which our father Man has struggled up from savagery to civilization as to determine the orbit of any celestial body? Would not our paleontologists acquiesce in the statement that an endeavor to reconstruct and recover the lost chapters of man's story is as worthy of support as the effort to recover every stage in the development of a creature little larger than a rabbit until he expands to the proportions of a horse? It is a pleasure to record that when I submitted this question to Dr. R. S. Woodward, President of the Carnegie Institution of Wash-

ington, he cordially assented, but added that he regarded the suggested investigation of man as the *more important*.⁸⁸

In seeking support for oriental research, therefore, the worth and dignity of our great task should move us to claim all that is conceded to the natural sciences. Are we not engaged upon later phases of the same vast process of development which they are investigating? Taine, the greatest of the French historians, has remarked in one of his published letters, 'I love history because it shows me the birth and progress of justice; and I find it all the more beautiful in that I see in it the ultimate development of nature.' Our endeavors to recover the lost stages in the career of man therefore follow in unbroken sequence the researches of natural science.

To us, who are the youngest children of time, it must always be not only a matter of vital human interest, but likewise a tribute of filial piety, to raise the misty curtain of the years and to peer behind into the far-off ages, whence, in the course of this development, our European ancestors first received their precious legacy of civilization; and in this crusade of modern scientific endeavor in the Near East we know what the first crusaders could not yet discern, that we are returning to ancestral shores.

⁸⁸ Since the conversation mentioned above, Dr. Woodward has kindly written me, reiterating his reply to my question, and discussing the whole question of humanistic research with great cogency and penetration.

THE NEED OF AN AMERICAN SCHOOL OF LIVING ORIENTAL LANGUAGES

WILLIAM PHILLIPS

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE

MR. PRESIDENT AND MEMBERS OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL
SOCIETY:

I regret very keenly that owing to circumstances beyond my control, I cannot have the pleasure of addressing you in person and expressing the deep interest of the Department of State in the proposal to establish a school for Living Oriental Languages.

The war has taught us, among many things, that our whole conception of the world must undergo a radical change. No longer can forty odd separate nations lead their separate lives, cherish their individual ambitions, regardless of consequences, and forcibly disagree whenever they feel in a petulant state of mind. Modern warfare is too terrible a sacrifice, and the principle of the League of Nations is being hailed as the guiding influence which ultimately will bind all the nations of the world into strong and virile friendship. The intention of the framers of the League is to establish a machine which will have as its object the harmonizing of the divergent interests of nations, the recommending of a practical remedy for disputes, and, in a hundred ways, the drawing of the nations of the earth into a more sympathetic relationship. Taking for granted that the principle of the League of Nations will be adopted, it becomes the duty of Americans to prepare themselves for the responsibilities that America must assume in world affairs.

Our educational institutions have comforted themselves that they were performing their whole duty by encouraging the study of modern European languages on the theory, I suppose, that the life of this country is identified principally with that of Europe and Latin America. If they would stop to think that less than half the peoples of the earth speak modern European languages and that our nearest neighbors on the west are the great countries of Japan and China, with populations approximately of four hundred millions, they would realize that with-

out the study of Oriental languages, they are not performing their full duties to the coming generation of American students. Why are we so blind to the fact that our relations with Japan and China must necessarily grow closer and more intimate and that without a knowledge of the Japanese and Chinese languages we cannot do our part in cementing these relations? A leading Japanese said recently at a semi-official banquet in Tokyo: 'We understand Americans but America does not understand us. We have thousands of young men who have been educated in American schools and colleges, while you Americans have scarcely a half-dozen men who know enough of the Japanese language to understand Japanese thought at first hand.' America has capital and skilled talent, but she has comparatively few men who can put her in real and intelligent contact with every day life of the Far East.

Let us discuss for a moment the practical benefits to the Government that would follow the establishment in the United States of a school or schools for Oriental languages. Because there are no institutions in this country that teach Japanese, Chinese, Turkish or Arabic languages, Congress has made appropriation for the establishment in Peking, Tokyo and Constantinople of what might be called 'schools' attached to our Diplomatic Missions in these Capitals, and young men who have passed a general examination on other subjects in Washington, are sent there to learn the languages of the country and ultimately to enter the Consular Service. It is not a very alluring prospect. The majority of students who apply for positions of 'Student Interpreter,' as we call them, have no previous knowledge of the East and little idea of the difficulties of acquiring an Oriental language. Naturally some are tempted by a system which allows them to live the attractive life of a student in the East at Government expense. Not unnaturally after a year or two the charm may wear off and the young man who has been provided for by a well-meaning Government, may decide that he is better fitted for other lines of work. American business houses with connections in the East are near at hand with dazzling salaries and the Government, therefore, is always liable to lose many of its young students before they have given back in service the Government funds which have been expended on their education.

Furthermore there are very few native teachers in the Orient who know enough of the English language to explain to beginners the fine points of Oriental languages and much time necessarily is lost to the student because of his difficulty in understanding his teacher. And so we in the Department have come to believe that a preliminary study of Oriental languages at home would be a far more economical method of training our officers than the present system, which allows of no return to the Government until after a minimum of two years of training in Oriental countries.

The reasons which make it necessary for Government agents to know the languages of the Orient apply equally to persons who are engaged in cultivating the extension of commerce between the United States and the countries of the Orient. A prosperous trade between two countries in itself cements the relations of those countries. Naturally, therefore, this Government is deeply interested in the extension of trans-Pacific commerce and is concerned when development of American enterprise is conducted in an unintelligent manner and in a way which does not command the sympathetic respect of the people of the Oriental countries. The lack of Americans who know Oriental languages is not merely a simple and negative handicap to American business and to the permanency of all kinds of American influence in those countries; rather it doubles the effectiveness of our great competitors by making it easier and more natural for Oriental countries to deal with them than with us.

In conclusion let me emphasize that the State Department is deeply interested in encouraging the study of Oriental languages in this country, believing that our relations with Oriental countries will be vastly benefited thereby and that many international problems which now seem difficult of adjustment will no longer be 'problems' when discussed in the light of mutual understanding. The Department would welcome the establishment of such a school as is now contemplated and would send to it embryo diplomatic and consular officers who are at present forced to undergo their schooling in Eastern Capitals. Such an institution would not only be of practical use to the Government but would serve as a powerful stimulus to the youth of the country in turning their thoughts to the great unknown East.

It would aid greatly in bringing about a closer understanding between America and the Orient and a deeper interest in the welfare of Asiatic peoples. It would develop a desire to exchange ideas and thought across the Pacific and this interchange would assure for all future times a spirit of firm friendship based on mutual respect and sympathy. In this way can America accomplish her ideals.

AN ACCOUNT OF SCHOOLS FOR LIVING ORIENTAL LANGUAGES ESTABLISHED IN EUROPE¹

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THE MATERIALS for an account of schools of living Oriental languages in Europe are not abundant, and not easily disengaged from others relating to similar movements and undertakings, such as the pursuit of Orientalistic studies in the spirit of philology or exegesis, with emphasis upon the classical languages;² or the rigidly classical preparation of men for the work of printing Oriental liturgies and carrying them to the East with missionary enterprise;³ or the efforts of individuals who followed similar objects, with more or less interest in the spoken idioms, but without producing schools.⁴ It is not always possible to learn from the records of early efforts, or of the early stages of existing institutions, whether they might properly be called schools of living Oriental languages. To earn that name a school must, I take it, teach languages actually in use in the Orient,⁵ and teach them so that they may be of use. In some of the Oriental departments the classical idiom shades off by many stages into the vernacular, and all have to be studied, as with Arabic in all Arabic-speaking lands. In other departments there

¹ For a number of years there has been a noticeable tendency in America toward closing the gap between 'Oriental' and European 'Modern' languages, and toward more practical methods of instruction in all languages.

² In the Middle Ages Hebrew and Arabic were known to individual Christian scholars who doubtless pursued them in this spirit, though often by very modern methods.

³ The *Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*, founded 1622 by Pope Gregory XV, and the *Collegium Urbanum de Propaganda Fide*, founded 1627 by Pope Urban VIII, are devoted to the education of missionaries and the printing of religious books in Oriental languages.

⁴ Raymond Lull, a Catalan missionary of the xiiith century, proposed that Arabic chairs be established for the training of missionaries, but without immediate effect.

⁵ The term 'Orient' with its derivatives has been extended to cover all lands and languages but those of Europe and America.

is little connection between the classical and the vernacular, or none at all, and little or no popular knowledge of the classical, as with Ge'ez and Amharic in Abyssinia, and Coptic and Arabic in Egypt. These languages are dead and belong only secondarily to such a school. Again, if it is the vernacular that is taught, it must be so taught that the successful pupil can use it as well as understand it, know it as well as know about it. Lastly, there are schools devoted to the study of the Orient, or to the training of Orientals in Europe, in which language study is subordinate or non-existent, and which therefore are apart from the present subject.⁶

Humanism, which in its later stages carried the attention of Europe from classical studies over into Semitic, aroused great interest in the *past* of these Oriental lands and their peoples, and gave birth to institutions which down to the present are worthy custodians of that rather antiquarian tradition.⁷ But the forces which produced centres of study of the modern Orient were others: mainly *government* and *commerce*, not without the influence, however, of the missions *motif*, already mentioned. How far back in the past these first made themselves felt is difficult to say.⁸ In the case of France one is struck with the romantic tone which pervades all her dealings, governmental or otherwise, with the nearer East, her peculiar rapport and inner harmony with it, her intense interest, making her from the first sensitive to the charm of the spoken word, the living population and its lore. How different, on the other hand, has been the attitude of that great custodian Great Britain, and the effect of her contact with the East. A few very great scholars are not lacking.

⁶ As, e. g., the *École pratique coloniale* of Havre, or the *Deutsche Kolonialschule* of Witzzenhausen.

⁷ The Arabic school of Leyden, and after it that of Oxford, were founded in the xviii century. There seems to have been a school at Rome even before these, in connection with the Medicean Press.

⁸ In the xviii century French *jeunes des langues* were sent by the government to the near East. How long this had been going on is seen from Langlès' (*q. v. infra*) statement that the dialogues which he added to Savary's grammar had been used for a long time by dragomans in the Levant. Their fixed form and wide distribution is shown by the further mention of two manuscript copies which Langlès had seen under very different circumstances.

There are queer fraternities among folk who should know better. But no serious and intelligent interest has been displayed, to say nothing of intelligent romanticism, by that government which so well rules its millions of highly interesting Oriental people. The Foreign Office, except in the recent occupation of Palestine, has avoided if not distrusted the orientalist.⁹ Germany's interest in the modern Orient, while surely not unromantic, has been, unlike either of the others, a conscious striving for practical political ends through the application of scientific knowledge to technical training. With Russia and Austria we have Oriental interests springing from internal conditions of semi-Oriental states, and their immediate contact with Orientals in neighboring lands.

The first practical school of living Oriental languages established in Europe seems to have been the *Regio Instituto Orientale*, of Naples, begun in 1727 and renewed in 1888.¹⁰ At present¹¹ it offers Arabic, Turkish, Persian, Modern Greek, Albanian, Amharic, Chinese, Japanese, Russian, English, and lectures on Italy's relations with the East.

The second to be established is the *Kaiserliche und Königliche Konsularakademie*, of Vienna, which dates from 1754. Its purpose is expressly the training of consuls for Oriental and Occidental service. It offers Arabic, Turkish, Persian, Chinese, Russian, French, English, Italian, German, and extensive military and juridical *realia*.¹² In 1914 it had fifty-three students.

The third of such schools is the famous *École des langues orientales vivantes*, of Paris. It was established by government decree on March thirtieth, 1795, for the training of consular students and interpreters, other government functionaries, and commercial agents, with duties in the Orient. A beginning was

⁹ The advance through the Holy Land and the taking of Jerusalem were carried out under the direction of scholars advisory to the British Government.

¹⁰ *Minerva*, 1911 and 1914, has been the chief source for these data. In the former will be found full accounts of the history and organization of the institutions.

¹¹ I. e.: in 1913-14, before the outbreak of the War.

¹² A monument to the interest then shown in Arabic dialects is the *Kurzgefasste Grammatik der Vulgararabischen Sprache*, 1869, by A. Hassan, then professor of colloquial Arabic.

made with Arabic,¹³ Persian,¹⁴ Turkish,¹⁵ and Malay;¹⁵ and in 1832 extensive additions were permitted, leading to the present curriculum including, besides the languages mentioned, the Arabic dialects, Modern Greek, Armenian, Hova, Sudanese, Hindustani, Tamil, Chinese, Japanese, Siamese, Annamite, Javanese, Rumanian, Russian, and *realia*. A reformation and return to first principles was found necessary in 1869, after the work had become rather too philological. Frenchmen of twenty-four years or more who are bachelors of letters or of science are offered admission into the academic section; others, who have not enjoyed university training, are permitted to study in the commercial section. *Répétiteurs*, natives of the respective countries, drill students in sounds, conversation, and reading aloud. The lectures are all *publice et gratis*, and are so arranged as to occur usually three times a week, in two semesters; and attendance by diploma students is strictly required. The director is appointed from the faculty every five years by the Minister of Public Instruction. In 1914 the attendance was fifty students and seventy-five auditors.¹⁶

The fourth institution of which I find any record is the *Lazarev Ecclesiastical-Academic Institute for Oriental Languages*, of Moscow, which was founded in 1815, and which teaches

¹³ Given by de Sacy.

¹⁴ Given by Dom Raphaël.

¹⁵ Given by Langlès.

¹⁶ The early days of the *École des langues orientales vivantes* have left important literary remains. In 1784 D. Savary presented to the French government for publication a work entitled *Grammatica Linguae Arabicae Vulgaris necnon Litteralis*. It appeared posthumously after many delays, in the year 1813, under the editorship of Langlès, who has been mentioned as Professor of Malay and Turkish. Its importance lies in the fact that it was devoted chiefly to spoken Arabic, that it foreshadowed the modern direct or conversational methods, abounding in materials such as the dialogues above mentioned (n. 8), that it taught a careful pronunciation by means of transliteration, and that it exhibited a thoroughly modern interest in folklore. Some progress over the mixed language of the current dragoon's drill-book (vid. n. 8) was attained through the revision of the latter for Langlès by the Copt Michail Sabbag. In 1810 appeared Sylvestre de Sacy's *Grammaire arabe à l'usage des élèves de l'École spéciale des langues Orientales vivantes*. In its second edition (1831) it became the corner-stone of a great school of Arabic grammar.

the languages of the adjacent Muslim peoples, with law, French and Russian.¹⁷

The fifth institution to be founded was the *Kaiserlich-Königliche Oeffentliche Lehranstalt für orientalische Sprachen*, of Vienna, dating from 1851. It was reorganized in 1873, and now devotes itself to the practical study of Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Serbian, Russian, Greek and Albanian. In 1914 there was an attendance, including ladies, of 216 students.

With the sixth recorded institution Germany appears in 1887. This is the *Seminar für orientalische Sprachen*, in Berlin, best known of them all to American scholars. It is remarkable both for the extent of its curriculum and for the large number of its students and auditors. In 1914 it taught classical Arabic, an introduction to Arabic dialects, Syrian colloquial Arabic, Egyptian colloquial Arabic, Moroccan colloquial Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Hindustani, Gugerati, Chinese, Japanese, Suaheli, Ewe, Jaunde, Ethiopic, Amharic, Russian, Greek, Rumanian, English, French, and Spanish, besides Islam and *realia* of Asiatic and African countries. There were in 1914, including ladies and visitors, 279 students.¹⁸

The *Königlich-ungarische orientalische Handelsakademie*, of Budapest, founded in 1891 (or in 1883?), possesses a phonetic laboratory, which permits the inference that it offers instruction in living Oriental languages. It offers a two years' course to forty students only.

Eighth on the list is the *Hamburgisches Kolonialinstitut*, founded in 1908,¹⁹ rightly regarded as a model institution. Behind it were the motifs of colonial propaganda within Ger-

¹⁷ As we learn from the title page of the *Traité de la langue Arabe vulgaire*, by the *Sheich Mouhammed Ayyad al-Tantavy* (1848), the latter was at that time 'Professeur de langue Arabe à l'Institut des langues Orientales de St. Pétersbourg,' and that he was employed by the Imperial University. It seems probable therefore that the 'Institut' was not a separate institution but a part of the University. There is no record of this in *Minerva*. The 'Oriental Faculty' now offers, besides the dead Oriental languages, Georgian, Armenian, Turko-tatar, Persian, Arabic, Chinese, Mongol, Japanese, and Korean, besides Oriental History.

¹⁸ The *Mitteilungen* and *Lehrbücher* issued by the *Seminar* contain important scientific contributions.

¹⁹ An account of the institution by the present writer will be found in *The Moslem World*, vol. 4, 1914, pp. 303 ff.

many and, quite naturally, German propaganda abroad. It opened its doors to all Germans who were training for foreign service, and to foreign students from all parts of the world. The organization was effected by combining the different *Vorlesungswesen* of Hamburg under the patronage of Edmund Siemers and Alfred Beit, private citizens of that small commercial city-state. Its work is carried on through various seminars, such as the *Seminar für Geschichte und Kunde des Orients* (founded 1908), the *Seminar für Nationalökonomie und Kolonialpolitik* (founded 1908), the *Orientalisches Seminar* (founded 1910), and the *Seminar für Kolonialsprachen*. There is a department of the Moslem Orient, of Eastern Asia, and of Africa, each having a professor, instructors, native assistants, and books and apparatus. The large phonetic laboratory serves all departments, and the ships from foreign ports are able to supply *gewährsleute* from many lands. The *realia* include philosophy, jurisprudence, political science, history, geography, cooking, swimming, and a variety of homely arts. The language instruction, except in one department, is of the most modern type, and emphasizes the study of sounds, the appeal to the ear rather than to the eye, and the memorizing of material, rather than the minute analysis of grammatical phenomena. It places the theoretical instruction and general oversight in the hands of a European professor, and the drill work in the hands of European subordinate instructors and foreign *sprachgehülfen*. Recording and reproducing instruments are extensively employed, both for otherwise unavailable material and for the repetition of instruction. The *Hamburgisches Kolonialinstitut* has rendered great service to German *realpolitik* and German commerce. Its strongest feature has been the department of African languages headed by Carl Meinhoff, the founder of a remarkable school of Hamitic philology.²⁰ It is safe to say that there is nowhere else in the world any such equipment for the practical and theoretical study of African languages.

The ninth institution to be mentioned is the *Practical Oriental Academy*, of Petrograd, founded in 1909, after it had developed

²⁰ The Hamburg school devotes itself largely, though not entirely, to those African languages which Meinhoff classifies as Hamitic. The Sudanic languages have found a specialist representative in Westermann of the Berlin *Seminar für orientalische Sprachen*.

out of various courses begun by the *Imperial Society for Oriental Studies*, which dates from 1906. It offers, besides the Moslem and Christian languages to the south, also those to the east, including Chinese and Japanese; but also French and English, and the general subjects: Islam, geography, Oriental jurisprudence, international politics, and administrative science. The course runs but two semesters. In 1913 there were 102 students.

Last of all the European powers and peoples to become interested in practical instruction in living Oriental languages have been the British government and the English people.²¹ As the tenth and last of the establishments is to be mentioned *The School of Oriental Studies, London Institution*, founded on February 23, 1917. Its charter of incorporation states that the purposes of the school are: 'to be a school of Oriental Studies in the University of London, to give instruction in the languages of Eastern and African peoples, ancient and modern, and in the literature, history, religion, and customs of these peoples, especially with a view to the needs of persons about to proceed to the East or to Africa for the pursuit of study and research, commerce, or a profession.' It is hardly fair to ask what has been accomplished by this school, born in the most desperate crisis of modern civilization. It is product of the War, a symbol of changed or changing policy, and a promise for the future. Fortunate it is for Great Britain and for all, that Germany's failure and fall were not attributed to her excellent technical training, nor Britain's conspicuous success attributed to her comparative lack of the same.

²¹ An account of the long struggle for recognition of the claims of these studies in England will be found in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London Institution*, published by the School, Finsbury Circus, E. C., 1917. John B. Gilchrist in 1818 founded in Leicester Square the *Oriental Institution*, under the patronage of the East India Company and chiefly devoted to the study of Hindustani by medical students; but it survived only eight years. Dr. Robert Morrison's *Language Institution*, London, teaching Chinese, Sanskrit, and Bengali, was founded in 1825 and lived only three years. Of course *University College* and *King's College* have taught Hindustani, Arabic, and other Oriental languages since the beginning of the nineteenth century. Under the title *School of Modern Oriental Languages*, courses of instruction in Arabic, Persian, Pali, Sanskrit, Hindustani, Bengali, Marathi, and Tamil, are given in *University College*, and Burmese, Modern Greek, Chinese, Russian, Turkish, Swahili, Malay, Japanese, Arabic, Haura, Zulu and South African Languages in *King's College*.

THE DD-EMBLEM OF OSIRIS

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THE EXACT SIGNIFICANCE of the emblem of Osiris, the so-called Dd-emblem, which figures so prominently among the Egyptians as an amulet, has so far escaped a satisfactory answer. In the latest book that touches on this question, the author states in a note (see W. Max Müller, *Egyptian Mythology*, p. 385, note 3), 'it may have been merely an old architectural experiment without any original religious meaning.' The other question which Müller raises, whether the Dd-emblem was originally attached to the city of Busiris, or to the city-god, will find its answer when a correct explanation of what that sign originally represented shall have been given. As long as one considers it to represent a pillar, the possibility of the sign embodying the emblem of the city of Dedu is obvious. This investigation which takes up this question once more, will try to show that the Dd-emblem must be considered as one to which an originally religious meaning was attached, a meaning however which was lost among the Egyptians in a very remote time. From Egypt itself we receive no light which would enable us to get the satisfactory answer. We have to go outside of Egypt, that is to Babylonia to get this information.

To the later Egyptians the Dd-emblem was a sign which commemorated the resurrection of the god Osiris. As an amulet it was considered to procure three things needful to their dead. Placed around the neck of the dead, the deceased person entered through the gates of, and became glorified in, *Duat*, and he was assured of his sustenance in the other world, being given bread, cakes, quantities of flesh on the altars of Re', or as a variant has it, of Osiris the good Being. See the 155th chapter of the Book of the Dead, which deals with the Dd-amulet. The Egyptians themselves held that the Dd-emblem signified or symbolized the backbone of Osiris. Scholars regarded it either as a pillar, or as a representation of the universe—the four horizontal lines representing four worlds placed above each other. Again it was conjectured that it must represent a work-stand upon

which the stone-mason used to lay his tools. Still another interpretation saw in the *DD*-emblem either an altar of four altarpates topped in layers, or a nilometer. That view finally, which saw therein a branchless tree-stump, seems to come nearest to a right interpretation. In so far at least as that explanation connected the emblem with a plant, it was, it seems, entirely correct, for we naturally expect that a god such as Osiris, who figures so prominently as a nature-god, or as a vegetation-god, should in some way have as his most fitting emblem some kind of a plant. Plant-life more than any other life also exemplifies best the change in nature. Osiris's chief characteristic was that of a god of the change of nature, probably first only of vegetation and later of the change in nature in the widest sense. To express this in reference to the Sumerio-Babylonian mythology, before Osiris became the Egyptian Dumuzu, he must have been an Egyptian Asar. Scholars for quite some time back have pointed out the similarity of the ideographic writing of the names of the Sumerian Asar and the Egyptian Wsr, that is, both containing the sign for 'place' plus the sign for 'eye.' But not only is the ideographic writing the same, but there is also a similarity in pronouncing that ideographic writing, for a gloss gives the cuneiform reading of that sign as *a-sa-ru* (Coptic **ΟΥΣΙΡΕ**). If we would have to stop here with the enumeration of these two identities, we would only be justified in saying that this is a mere accidental coincidence. But we can go farther. Not only are the ideographic writing and the pronunciation the same in both instances, but there is also an agreement in the additional appellations given to both divine names. The Sumerian divine name is always written *dingir* Asar *lù-dug*. Yet *lù-dug* obviously does not belong to the name proper, but is only an appellative, i. e., 'Asar, the good Being.' I wish to point out here, as I have not seen it mentioned in this connection, that the writing of *lù-dug* has its exact equivalent in the by-name of Osiris, *wnn nfrw*, i. e. 'the one who is good,' or 'the good Being,' Coptic **ΟΥΕΝΟΥΡΕ**.¹ For the repeated occurrence of the

¹ The final *u* in *Wsr wnn nfrw* is due to the fact that the Egyptians regarded this name as a unit, and therefore affixed the *u* so common in the names of Egyptian gods. In the nom. pers. **אסרנפר** (Lidzbarski, *HNSE* p. 223) the final *u* is dropped, as it is sometimes omitted also in Egyptian inscriptions.

name *Wsr wnn nfrw* see the Book of the Dead, chapters 42, 43, 70, 92, 100, 129, 145, 146 and 155, etc. We have therefore in the Sumerian as well as in the Egyptian nomenclature a complete parallel. Again, when we read for instance passages such as that in chapter 146 of the Book of the Dead, *Wsr wnn nfrw m³c-hrw s³ Gb mš n Nw-t*, we are able to translate this Egyptian sentence back into Sumerian without any change in the personages, namely, *dingir Asar lù-dug dumu dingir Enki-ka-ge u-tu-ud-da dingir Damgalnunna-ge*. The remark which Müller (*Egyptian Mythology*, p. 41) makes concerning Nut, 'We should expect her to be Nun's consort, but she is seldom associated with him . . . she is, instead, the wife of the earth-god, by whom she gives birth to the sun each morning,' holds good also of Damgalnunna, who instead of being associated with Nun, is the wife of the original Sumerian earth-god Enki. Both therefore, Asar and Wsr, have as their father the earth-god and as their mother the female counterpart of the abyss. The identities in name and parentage will allow us also some important conclusions as to the respective emblems of Asar and Wsr later on.

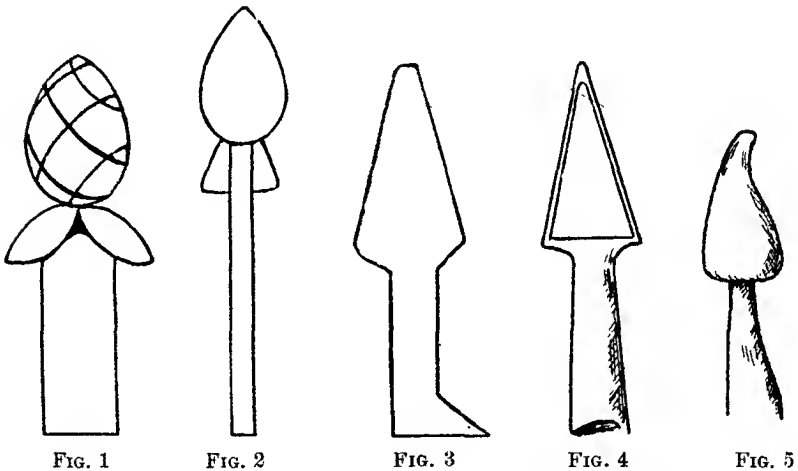
Before doing this however, I wish briefly to sketch what the inscriptions say of this interesting divinity Asar. In bilingual inscriptions this god is identified with Marduk. The identification of these undoubtedly different gods must belong to the time when the sun-worship was changed from the autumnal to the vernal equinox. To express this historically is not easy at present, but it may be possible that the beginning of the astronomical spring as the probable commencement of the year may perhaps reach as far back as the time of the kings of Ur. That Asar originally was a sun-god who represented the winter-, or autumn-sun, seems to be implied in such passages as Reissner, Hymn No. 1, lines 25 and 29, in which passages it is said of Asar: *enim dingir Asar lù-dug šel pa-še-ba mu-(ni-ib-su-sug)*, which the Semitic translates: *amât i^uMarduk ebura ina si(manišu ūṭabbi)*, i. e., 'The word Asar, the good Being, floods the harvest with its ripe field-products.' There is obviously a contradiction in the statement of this hymn. How is it possible to call a divinity a good Being, who is instrumental in ruining the crops of the harvest-fields? Now line 29 of the same hymn reads: *enim dingir Asar lù-dug gal-dug a-maḥ-am kar (alšaša)*, with Semitic rendering: *amât i^uMarduk butuktum ša k(āra iḥa-*

šaš). that is, 'the word of Asar, the good Being, is a flood which tears away the dike.' These two lines show that Asar was a sun-god of the winter time. But it also shows that Asar, to be true to his appellation, the good Being, must have come from a country where the autumnal equinox was beneficial to the land. This was not the case in Babylonia. Here Asar, no longer a good god, would become a god of destruction, if he remained a sun-god of the autumnal equinox. He therefore changed to a sun-god of the vernal equinox, but when this change took place, it seems also a slight change in his name was made at the same time. Asar was henceforth called Marduk. In the name Marduk itself we still can recognize the old appellation of Asar; *lù-dug*, for the syllable *mar* in Marduk contains probably the *lù* in *lù-dug*, as *lù* could also be pronounced *mulu*, which passed into *muru*, *mur* and thence into *mar*. The *duk* is clearly recognizable as standing for the Sumerian *dug*. If it is true that Marduk stands for *mulu-dug* or *lù-dug*, then the attribute of Asar has survived in this name. In this case we are not even compelled to suppose that a merging of two different gods has taken place.

Prof. M. Jastrow in a recent article ('Sumerian and Akkadian Views of Beginnings,' *JAOS* 36. 277) sees in the story of Marduk's conquest of Tiamat an original nature-myth, which presented the story of the change of season from the winter or rainy season to the spring season. For the Sumerian view of yearly orientation, as must have been held originally by these people, it is interesting to note in this connection what the author says on p. 293. I shall give the passage in his own words: 'The world . . . is pictured as beginning in the fall when the rains set in, and not in the spring when the storms and rains cease. Such a condition is apt to prevail in mountainous districts where the streams are low or entirely dried up in the dry season and depend upon the rains to fill them again, in contrast to a mountainless plain like the Euphrates Valley, where the streams, fed from their sources, flow in abundance during the entire year and during the rainy season over-flow and cause inundations.' In view of the fact that creation falls in the winter season, this fact in itself justifies us in concluding that the Sumerian year originally began in that season.

Asar is most commonly known to us as a god who shows his kindness (*lù-dug*) toward suffering mankind and who relieves

them of their diseases and the attacks of evil spirits. The standing phrase in incantation texts: 'Asar, the good Being, saw him and unto the house of his father Enki he entered,' seems to have some reference to his ideogram which contains the sign *igi*, 'eye.' Originally it seems the ideogram had reference only to the 'place of the eye,' that is, 'the sun's eye,' that is, the sun. The sun-god sees everything and therefore knows all things, and as the power of light is also the power of goodness and every blessing and the enemy of darkness and all evil spirits that roam in darkness. In Tablet iii of the *utukki limnûti* series Asar is therefore called a



god that blesses = *dingir silim-ma-mu dingir Asar lû-dug*, cf. *CT* 16, pl. viii. But as a sun-god Asar is also a god who affects nature, and, from the passage quoted from the hymn published by Reissner, it can be gathered that Asar was in some way connected with irrigation and vegetation. The most evident proof that Asar was originally a vegetation-god is given us in the initial lines of the seventh tablet of Creation. The two lines that interest us here only are as follows: *il^uAsar-ri ša-riq mi-riš-(ti mu-kin iz-ra-ti) ba-nu-û še-am u ki-e mu-š(e-ši ur-qi-ti)* = 'O Asar, bestower of planting, founder of sowing, maker of grain and plants, who caused the green herb to come forth.'² It is

² Cf. also King, *Magic*, No. 12, line 30: *ha-a-a-ad il^uAš-na-an û il^uLa-ḫar(?) ba-nu-û še-am û ki-e mu-diš-šu-û šammuurqîtu*, 'who bestows corn and grain (?) who creates wheat and barley, who renews the green herb.'

therefore not merely accidental but only shows more clearly that Asar was a vegetation-god when in the rock-relief of Sanherib near Bavian this Assyrian representation which pictures the different emblems of the twelve great gods, has the form as in Figure 1, that is a plant, most probably, to judge from the figure, a conventionalized picture of the most valued plant in old Babylonia, a young palm-tree. This sign was however generally explained as being the 'spear-head' of Marduk and therefore symbolizing the *kakku*, the weapon of Marduk. On the Asarhaddon stele of Sendschirli this emblem of Marduk has the form as in Figure 2, which of all other representations of the emblem comes closest to that of Sanherib. The emblem on the Sargon stele of Cyprus, which equals the one given in the rock-relief of Asarhaddon at Nahr el Kelb, varies somewhat (see Fig. 3). Finally on the Cassite boundary-stones we have forms as in Figures 4 and 5 (see Hinke, *A New Boundary Stone*, pp. 91 and 94). K. Franck, *Bilder und Symbole babylonisch-assyrischer Götter*, pp. 22-24, is inclined to see in these representations the weapon of Marduk, a lance.

Of all the representations given, it is advisable to pay most attention to the one which is obviously the best. That is undoubtedly the one on the rock-relief of Sanherib near Bavian. This seems to come nearer to a tree than a lance or a spear-head. But also in each of the other cases there is nothing which would hinder us from seeing the picture of a tree in them. Compare for instance the hieroglyph of the *im* tree which is used as the determinative for trees in general.

Before we go on it is necessary to clear up a certain misunderstanding. This has reference to the so-called 'weapons' of the gods. Here we have not to think of real weapons, say a spear, a lance, a bow, but simply of the divine emblem. III Raw. 69. 3. 75-83 gives a list of such emblems of gods. It is interesting to note that a few of the names of the so-called weapons stand in etymological relation to plants. The *kakku* of Ninib is called *hihinu*, which is related to *hahin* = thornbush. The *kakku* of Nabu is the *it-ti-it-tum*, which is related to *etidu* = nettle. Another *kakku* is named *pu-qut-(tum)*, which equals *puqdatu* or *puquattu* of similar meaning. Of interest to us here is the name of the *kakku* of Marduk. It is called in this list *qa-qu-ul-tu*. Hinke did not recognize in this connection that also this

word is etymologically connected with the name of a plant. He referred to *CT* 17, 35, 79 where we have *qaq-qul-ti la pa-te-e* = 'a closed vessel,' but otherwise left the connection with other words unexplained. But *qaqultu* is surely related to *qaqul(l)u*. Meissner in *ZA* 6. 293 identified *qaqulum* with the Syriac *kâkôlâ* = *amomum cardamomum*, Löw n. 296. *Qaqulum* equals *mangu* and *šameṭu*. If *mangu* has any relation to *mangagu*, this would fit into our thesis most perfectly, as we know that the latter represents some part of the date-palm. Such a connection between *mangu* and *mangagu* is possible, but cannot be proved now.³ For our purpose suffice it to say that the *kakku* of Marduk is called *qaqultu*, which word is related to a plant-name, a plant which by its equation with others may have some reference to the palm-tree or a part thereof. On the other hand the custom of calling certain plants *kakkê ša ilâni* points to the fact that by that expression the Babylonians did not primarily mean the weapons of the gods, but their emblems. Weapons are not made of wood or of plants, but either of stone or else of metal. That *kakku* stands for emblem is further shown in those cases where certain stars are spoken of as being the *kakku* of the gods. For the use of *kakku* as weapon as well as emblem, or coat-of-arms, compare here the relation of the German words 'Waffen' and 'Wappen.' Marduk's weapon with which he slew Tiamat was the *miṭṭu*. But he also is equipped with the bow (*qaštu*) and the *mulmullu* weapon, which is either a lance or an arrow, more probably the former. We have here our choice to determine which weapon was Marduk's weapon in particular. Perhaps after all none was his particular weapon at all, but only one object was his emblem. This emblem of Marduk was the *qaqultu*-plant. Although preserved to us from a later time, this emblem must be very old, it must have come down from a time in which Marduk must have been held in greater esteem as a god connected with vegetation than he seems to have been in later times. I can only think in this connection of the possi-

³ *Mangagu* apparently represents the diminutive of *mangu*. Cf. Assyrian *sûqu* = *suqâqu* 'a small street.' For other instances of the usage to express the diminutive consonantically through reduplication, compare Neo-Hebrew *bešalsûl*, 'a little onion' (Siegfr. §53) and Syriac *partûtâ*, 'bread-crumbs' (Nöldeke §122). Cf. also *adâmdâm* 'a little red, pink.'

bility that the emblem was originally that of Asar, and that in the time of the complete merging of these divinities Marduk took this emblem to himself.

If this was the case, it would then seem most plausible, in view of the identity of the names of Asar and Wsr and their identical meaning (*lù-dug, wnn nfrw*) that we may conjecture that both gods had at some time also the same emblem. And indeed it does not require a great stretch of imagination to see in the *DD* sign either a corruption, on account of later misunderstand-

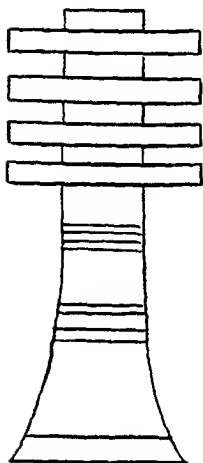


FIG. 6

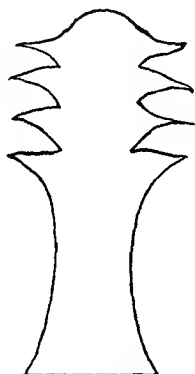


FIG. 7

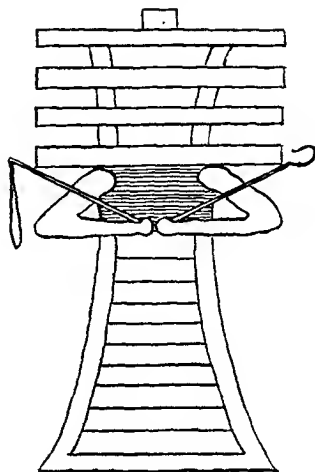


FIG. 8

ing, of the original as given us in Figure 1. or else that it pictured the palm-tree, if the *qaqultu* should be such, which might have been simplified to the sign in Figure 6, four horizontal lines representing originally probably four rows of palm-leaves. It is strange that as late as the 25th Dynasty there appears a new hieroglyphic form of the *DD* sign (see Fig. 7), which speaks favorably for our view that the *DD*-emblem of Osiris is a palm-tree.

The picture of Osiris (Fig. 8) which was taken to be 'Osiris in his pillar' is therefore to be placed in the same category as all those pictures, which show Osiris hidden or standing in a tree. However, it is very doubtful whether the oldest representation signified the celestial tree. There was most probably no cosmo-

gonic conception at all contained in this picture, but it simply stood for the original conception of Osiris as being a vegetation-god in Busiris. The custom of planting 365 trees, as it is said, around certain of his temples is also significant. This custom shows Osiris as the god of changing time and of the year,⁴ but here also the tree as the emblem of Osiris crops out again.

If we admit that there is a striking similarity between the Sumerian Asar and the Egyptian Wsr, this admission may perhaps lead to an interesting question as to how far the so-called 'Southern' elements in the Osiris-myth have any connection with the interesting figure of Asar, of whom we have not yet sufficient cuneiform material to draw upon more fully. But suffice it to say at present that the 'Southern' elements in the Osiris legend may not be due to a later confusion at all, a confusion which was brought about through a Southern deity of similar attributes to those of Osiris, but that Osiris himself may have changed from a 'Southerner' to a 'Northern Semito-Libyan' deity, or to express it in other words, Osiris seems to have been first an Asar *lù-dug*, and later developed into a Tammuz. I do not thereby wish to give the impression that the Asar myth was the original one and was borrowed by the Egyptians from the Sumerians. It is more probable that the Sumerians as well as the Egyptians got this mythological figure from a third source.⁵

* The Osirian cycle offers in the story of the slaying of the serpent Apop-Tiamat at the new-year's day another instance which connects Osiris with Asar -lù-dug. Cf. *Sitzungsberichte* of the Berlin Academy, 47, 1910, p. 932 ff. and Müller, *Mythology*, p. 106.

* The name Asar is not Sumerian and neither is Wsr Egyptian. But Asar may well be the name of a West-Semitic deity. I think it is possible to show that there is a strong probability that the original home of Asar was Amurru.

Asar is the masc. counterpart of *Aštar*, *Ištar*, which latter forms exhibit the infixed fem. *t*. Later when this infixed fem. was no more understood as such, a second feminine mark was suffixed, *Astartu*, ph. 'štrt, e.g. '(e)stirati 'Acratrη. South Arabian retains the original form عشت Asar therefore is عشت. In connecting Asar with *Ištar*, as must be done, it is easy to understand the nature of this god. Like *Ištar*, out of which Asar developed and became differentiated, he was originally, because being at some time identical with her, a god of love and fertility. Since their differentiation, however, the male divinity was no more brought into sexual

In the same way as Asar the son of Enki is the creator of the world, which position Marduk took over at the time of the merging of these two divinities, we should also expect that Osiris the son of Geb figured originally in the same capacity. And indeed the Egyptian inscriptions are not entirely silent on this matter. There lingered on into the time of the 18th Dynasty the idea of Osiris as creator, which found expression in a hymn to Osiris (cf. Chabas, 'Hymne à Osiris.' in *Revue Archéologique*, 14^e année, 1857, pp. 65 ff.). Osiris is spoken of in the following words: *ir-nf t3 pn m ʿ-f mw-f t3w-f sm-f mnmnt-f nb-t pjjt nb-t hnn nb-t ddfwt-f ʿwt-f*, i. e. 'he made this earth with his hand, its water, its air, its plants. all its cattle, all flying birds, its reptiles, its quadrupeds.' Wiedemann, in *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, p. 213, remarks on this passage that the hymn 'thus (is) assigning to him (Osiris) the same work which according to the usual acceptation had been carried out by Râ, and (is) placing him in a position which is not in logical harmony with that which he occupies in the myth.' This position of Osiris is easily explained as being due to the fact that Osiris is a composite character, an Asar lû-dug as well as a Tammuz.

relations, but his nature was enlarged into a god of goodness in general and of fertility in the whole realm of nature. Hence his epithet 'the good Being.'

NOTES ON INDO-IRANIAN WORDS

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1. Sanskrit *cātaka*-, *cuculus melanoleucus*.

AN INDO-EUROPEAN ROOT $kē(1)$, to cry out, call, summon, is attested in Lat. *ciēre* (*ky-ē*) and in *ac-cīre* ($και$); cf. with *d*-extension $και$ in Gothic *haitan*, to call. This is the root of *cātaka* ($kē$) and of $κωτίλος$ ($kō$), chattering, twittering: Lat. *cōt-urnix*, quail or call-bird (for the posterius cf. $δρνιξ$). The call-note of the quail is made a matter of special note, e. g. in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. No weight is to be given to *cocturnix* in MSS. This spelling was due to monkish reminiscence of the quails of Exodus, and belonged to the time when writers of Latin manuscripts pronounced a word like *octo* as *otto*.

2. The Sanskrit compound adverb *prād-u[d]s*, hervor.

Here *prād* = Lat. *prōd*, forth and *us* = *ud-s*, out. This Sutra and Epic word is no less likely to be of Indo-European provenance than lexical Sanskrit *parut*: $πέρυσσι$.

3. Sanskrit *sahá*, with.

This preverb arose from compounds with imperative prius *saha* = $ἐχε$, as in $ἐχέ-κολλος$, glutinous (having glue), $ἐχέ-φρων$, sensible (having mind). Similarly Skr. *sahá-patnī* = having the wife (along), accompanied by the wife. There was competition between *sahá* and Indo-Iranian *sadha* (Gāthic Avestan *hadā*).

4. Sanskrit *hoḍha*-, stolen property.

This is a false discomposit from *sahoḍha* = *saha* + *ūḍha*-, thief, i. e. having stolen (property), by false analysis *sa-hoḍha*-, with stolen property.

5. Avestan *puθrā*, grávida; adjectives direct from nouns.

In the Avesta the word for 'son' also means 'with child.' It is not necessary to invent a suppressed suffix, as Bartholomae has done to account for this; cf. Lat. *vetus*, old: $φῆτος$, year. Horace has *patruae* (fem. gen.), belonging to the *patruus*; and *fabulae*, fabled, not different from the plural of *fabula*, a fable.

6. Avestan *vərə-tka* (t or δ), kidneys.

The prius belongs with *vār*, rain; the posterius, *t(a)ka-*, means flowing. Thus the kidneys are water-pourers. Any priest or butcher on cutting the ureters (ducts leading from the kidneys to the bladder) might have given the name. For the root *wer*, to flow, see Walde's lexicon s. v. *urina*. Lat. *vē(n)sica*, bladder, if with adventitious *n* (cf. *tensaurus*; and note the collocation of *vesica* with *venter* in Plautus' *Persa*, 98), may come from *vēr-dh-ti*, water-holder; cf. Skr. *uda-dhī*, water-holder, ocean. The Latin word for kidneys, *renes*, has lost an initial *v*; original *vrenes* meant pourers.

7. The Indo-Iranian 'root' *var*, broad.

The sense of broad in this 'root,' taken representatively, of course, is a development from *váruna-*, sky. In *Oἰpavós* we are to recognize ὅς οἰπέι, i. e. qui mingit. On the root *wer*, to pour, see the last number. From *Oἰpavós* the root *wer* developed the sense of to cover; and this connotation predominates in Skr. *Váruna-s*, the encompassing (sky).

NOTES OF THE SOCIETY

A Joint Meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland and the Société Asiatique will be held in London on September 3-6, 1919. This note serves as a general advertisement to all members of the American Oriental Society inviting them to attend, and it is hoped that the President of the Society can ensure the attendance of some delegates. Anyone planning to attend can obtain later and fuller information by communicating with Prof. Charles R. Lanman, 9 Farrar St., Cambridge, Mass.

PERSONALIA

PROF. WM. H. WORRELL, Director of the American School in Jerusalem, expects to start for his post on July 19, taking boat to England. His Associate, PROF. A. T. CLAY, will sail on July 12. In London they will take up negotiations with the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem looking towards close co-operation, and they will confer in Paris with the French societies and scholars interested in oriental research. After that they will proceed, as rapidly as political conditions allow, to Jerusalem.

PROF. A. CARNOY, Professor at the University of Louvain and at the University of California (formerly at the University of Pennsylvania), has returned for the time being to Louvain, where his address is 9 Rue des Joyeuses Entrées.

MR. LEON DOMINIAN has been assigned to duty at the Peace Conference in Paris. His address is care of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace, Hotel Crillon, Paris.

ŚĀKADVĪPA AND ŚVETADVĪPA¹

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THE SUPERFICIAL NATURE of Garbe's recent discussion of Śvetadvīpa² has induced me to make an effort to collect all the available evidence that has a bearing on the problem. Śvetadvīpa has been as mobile as were the mountains before Indra clipped their wings. It has been located by Wilford³ in England (Albion), by Weber⁴ in Alexandria, by Lassen⁵ in Parthia, by Gerini⁶ in Cambodia and Siam, by Kennedy⁷ in Bactria or in the

¹ References are to the following editions and translations: *Mahābhārata* (Bombay, 1888-9); *Rāmāyaṇa* (Bombay, 1888); *Harivaṃśa* (since no edition was available) is quoted from Langlois' translation by chapter, volume, and page; *Vāyu, Matsya, Brahma* and *Padma Purāṇas* (Anandāśrama editions); *Kūrma* and *Varāha Purāṇas* (Bibl. Ind. editions); *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (Burnouf's edition and translation); *Vishnu Purāṇa* (Bombay, 1889, and Wilson's translation); *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (Bibl. Ind. edition and Pargiter's translation); *Kathāsaritsāgara* (Bombay, 1903, and Tawney's translation); *Yogavāsiṣṭha* (since no edition was available) is quoted from Mitra's translation.

² *Indien und das Christentum*, pp. 192-200, 259.

³ 'An Essay on the Sacred Isles in the West,' *Asiatic Researches*, 11. 11-151.

⁴ *Indische Studien*, 1. 400 and 2. 166, 400; *Indische Streifen*, 2. 21; *Indische Skizzen*, pp. 92-3; 'Die Rāma-Tāpanīya-Upanishad,' *Abhandlungen Berl. Akad.* 1864. 277-8; 'Über die Kṛishṇajanmāshṭamī,' *ibid.* 1867. 318-23; 'Die Griechen in Indien,' *Berichte Berl. Akad.* 1890. 930.

⁵ *Indische Alterthumskunde*, 2d ed., 2. 1118-9.

⁶ *Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia*, pp. 164-7.

⁷ *JRAS* 1907. 482. As Garbe (*op. cit.* 196) has pointed out, Kennedy's suggestion that the name Milk Sea is derived from the 'abundance of frozen sea' at Issyk-kul is an error. The name means 'Warm Lake,' and the lake does not freeze over during the winter. [Berthold Laufer has given me the following note: 'The Issyk-kul was known to the Chinese in the T'ang period (618-906 A. D.) under the name *šo hai*, that is, "Warm Sea." Tu Huan, a famous author of the eighth century, explains the name as follows: "Although the country is cold, the lake does not freeze, hence its name." Cf. Hirth, *Nachworte zur Inschrift des Tonjukuk*, p. 71 (in Radloff, *Altürkische Inschriften der Mongolei*, 2. 1899). This name is also found in Buddhist literature. In a Chinese Buddhist work dealing

vicinity of Issyk-kul, by Garbe^s in the neighborhood of Lake

with cosmography and entitled *Fa kie ngan li t'u*, compiled by the *śramaṇa* Jen Chao (Zen Čao), there is a crude map of the universe surrounded by the ocean, the Himālaya being in the center, north of it Lake Anavatapta, farther north a mountain-chain not named, north of the latter the "Warm Sea," north-east of the latter a "Fragrant Sea" (*Hiang hai*).] Further, the accounts are unanimous in locating Svetaadvipa north of the Milk Sea. Therefore Kennedy's assertion that the Nestorian communities were numerous around the southern shores of the lake is worthless as an argument for the identity of the two. Moreover, it is not enough to assert that Nestorian communities were numerous there. It is necessary to prove that such was the case in the sixth century A. D. The fact that Huan Tsang (Watters, I. 67-8), who passed by the southern shores of Issyk-kul during the seventh century, A. D., knew nothing of Christian communities there or elsewhere in Central Asia, militates against the assumption that Nestorian communities flourished there in the sixth century. Christian communities flourishing enough to have served as the basis of Mahābhārata 12. 335-6 would surely have struck his attention. For the whole problem see Laufer, *American Anthropologist*, 1916. 572-3 and Pelliot, 'Chrétien d'Asie centrale et d'Extrême-Orient,' *T'oung Pao*, 1914. 623-44. Pelliot points out that although there were Nestorian bishops in Merv and Herat early in the fifth century there is no inscriptional evidence for Christians in Transoxiana until the first half of the seventh century.

* There is not the slightest definite evidence that there were Christian communities near Balkhash in the sixth century A. D. Garbe (*op. cit.* 198) quotes Nöldeke to the effect that there is abundant inscriptional evidence for Nestorian settlements near Balkhash during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. [Laufer refers me to Chwolson, 'Syrisch-Nestorianische Grabinschriften aus Semirjetschie,' *Mém. de l'Acad. de St.-Pét.* 34. 1886, and same, *Neue Folge*, 1897.] From this he argues that Balkhash must have been an important Nestorian center in the sixth century. It is like arguing that Berlin must have been a great city in the time of Caesar because it still is a great city. Moreover, Svetaadvipa is described as being more than 32,000 *yojanas* north of Meru. Meru itself is a vast distance north of India. *Yojana* is an indefinite term, but the long *yojana* seems to have been about nine miles, the short *yojana* about four and a half miles. Cf. Fleet, *JRAS* 1906. 1011 ff. and 1912. 237, 462-3. Even if we take the short *yojana* it is, as Garbe says, an 'ungeheure Entfernung.' Balkhash is hardly more than 250 miles north of Issyk-kul. How that short distance can appreciably lessen the 'ungeheure Entfernung,' which, according to Garbe, invalidates the identification with Issyk-kul, is a puzzle to me. The distance was never traversed by human feet. It was always traveled through the air, in a moment, by the *yoga*-power of the saint. Keith, *Indian Mythology*, in *The Mythology of All Races* (ed. L. H. Gray; Marshall Jones and Company, Boston, 1917), vol. 6, pp. 176-7, is inclined to follow Garbe's conclusions.

Balkhash, by Hopkins⁹ in Kashmir, by Grierson¹⁰ somewhere north of the Hindu Kush, by Lacôte¹¹ in Bactria, by Vans Kennedy,¹² Muir,¹³ Barth,¹⁴ Hopkins,¹⁵ Charpentier,¹⁶ Telang,¹⁷ Garbe¹⁸ (in his first discussion), Tiele,¹⁹ Senart,²⁰ Holtzmann,^{20a} Frazer,^{20b} Bhandarkar,^{20c} Howells,^{20d} Laufer,²¹ Pelliot,²² and others in the realm of fancy. Nowhere is there an impartial summary of all the evidence that bears on the problem.

It has been shown by Hopkins²³ that the earliest Hindu conception of the earth, when the geographical horizon first extended beyond the bounds of India and the Hindus first became cognizant of land to the north and east and west, was that of four *dvīpas* (Jambu, Uttarakuru, Ketumāla, Bhadrāśva)²⁴ partially

⁹ *The Great Epic of India*, pp. 72, 116, and *India Old and New*, p. 161.

¹⁰ *ERE* 2. 549; *JRAS* 1907. 315-6.

¹¹ *Gunādhyā et la Brhatkathā*, p. 95.

¹² *Researches into the Nature and Affinity of Ancient and Hindu Mythology*, p. 407 note: 'He might, for instance, have just as well attempted to fix the geographical position of Vaikuntha as of the White Island (Shweta Dwīpa); since they are both the fabulous residences of Vishnu and the one is as much of a reality as the other.'

¹³ *Metrical Translations*, p. xxiii.

¹⁴ *The Religions of India*, p. 132.

¹⁵ *The Religions of India*, pp. 431-2, but see note above for his tentative location in Kashmir.

¹⁶ *Journal asiatique*, 1910, 2. 605.

¹⁷ In Roy's translation of Mahābhārata 12. 337. 27 (p. 752 note) and *Bhagavad Gītā* (translated into English blank verse), pp. xxxiv-v. Quoted by J. M. Robertson, *Christianity and Mythology*, 2d ed., p. 268.

¹⁸ *Die Bhagavadgītā*, p. 31.

¹⁹ 'Christus en Krishna,' *Theologische Tijdschrift*, 1877. 70.

²⁰ *Essai sur la légende du Buddha*, p. 342 note.

^{20a} *Das Mahābhārata* 2. 230.

^{20b} *A Literary History of India*, pp. 231-3.

^{20c} *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems*, pp. 5-7, 32 ff.

^{20d} *The Soul of India*, pp. 533-4, 546.

²¹ *American Anthropologist*, 1916. 572-3.

²² *T'oung Pao*, 1914. 624.

²³ *JAOS* 1910. 369-72 and *Epic Mythology*, p. 11.

²⁴ So named in Mbh. 6. 6. 13 and by the unanimous Puranic tradition, which in spite of the development of an enlarged, fanciful, theoretic, geography, kept as the basis for the description of Jambudvīpa the older conception. Cf. Vāyu 34. 57; Matsya 113. 44; Mārkaṇḍeya 54. 14 and 59. 1, 4, 12, and 18; Vishnu 2. 2. 38. Ketumāla is mentioned in the Kathāsarit-sāgara (48. 77), but the names of the Puranic concentric *dvīpas* are unknown

surrounded by four seas.²⁵ These four countries were grouped around Meru (south, north, west, and east, respectively) like the petals of a lotus.

Similarly the Harivaṁśa²⁶ names Uttarakuru, Bhadrāśva, Ketumāla, and Jambudvīpa. In two of the passages 'the region of Yama' is substituted for the southern Jambudvīpa. Although seven *dvīpas* and seven seas are mentioned²⁷ in several passages, nowhere is a single one of the Puranic *dvīpas* named; whereas the names of the 'four *dvīpas*' are given.

Mbh. 12. 14. 21-5 has a variant account. It is there stated that Yudhiṣṭhira formerly ruled Jambudvīpa, Krauñcadvīpa like unto Jambudvīpa and situated west^{27a} of Meru, Śākadvīpa like

to that text. Ketumāla is also the name of a *tīrtha* in Mbh. 3. 89. 15. Although there are discrepancies and somewhat variant theories in the different Purāṇas the following account from the Vishnu (trans. Wilson, II. 114-16) is typical. In the center of Jambudvīpa, the concept of which has been enlarged to include all of the central continent, is Mt. Meru. South of this are the mountain-ranges Himavat, Hemakūṭa, and Nisadha. North of it are the mountain-ranges Nīla, Śveta, and Śrṅgin. All of these mountains extend from the ocean on the east to the ocean on the west. Enclosed by these mountains (proceeding from south to north) are the *varṣas* Kimpurusa, Harivarṣa, Ilāvṛta, Rāmyaka, and Hiranmaya. North and south of these lie Uttarakuru and Bhāratavarṣa. To the east and west of Ilāvṛta are Bhadrāśva and Ketumāla. These make up the nine *varṣas* of Jambudvīpa. The confused account of Mbh. 6. 6-8, although it differs in details, agrees in essentials. The northern crescent-shaped *varṣa* is named *Airāvata* (6. 6. 37-9). The Uttarakurus are located just north of Meru (6. 7. 2), although in 6. 6. 13 Uttarakuru is one of the four great *dvīpas* along with Jambu, Bhadrāśva, and Ketumāla. North of Airāvata is the Milk Ocean, but in another (later?) passage (6. 11. 6) Jambudvīpa is described as surrounded by the ocean of salt water, and the Milk Ocean is said to surround Śākadvīpa (6. 11. 10).

²⁵ For the four oceans see Hopkins *JAOS* 1910. 371 and *Epic Mythology*, p. 122. Compare Harivaṁśa 220 (2. 370): 'Il voulut que la terre eût quatre faces, et quatre mers pour bornes'; 70 (1. 303) where four oceans are referred to along with four castes, four ages, and 'quatre holocaustes'; 44 (1. 205) Varuṇa is described as surrounded by the four oceans.

²⁶ See 143 (2. 88); 148 (2. 115); 149 (2. 120).

²⁷ 'Seven *dvīpas*' 4 (1. 26); 33 (1. 154-5. 157); 149 (2. 120); 148 (2. 115); 'seven *dvīpas* and seven seas' 30 (1. 136). Are the seven *dvīpas* and seven seas of the Harivaṁśa merely conventional, or is the Puranic geography implied? I am inclined to the former view. For the conventional use of seven in the Mahābhārata see Hopkins *JAOS* 1910. 370-1.

^{27a} The Bombay and Calcutta editions read *adhareṇa* (Nilak.: *pāścimataḥ*).

unto Krauñcadvīpa and situated east of Meru, and Bhadrāśva equal in size to Śākadvīpa and situated north of Meru.²⁸

Hopkins' conclusions are corroborated by the earliest Buddhist cosmology.²⁹ In both the northern and southern texts the original conception has been overlaid by later Puranic speculation, but the theory of concentric *dvīpas* is clearly secondary. Especially noteworthy are the passages of the Mahāvastu and the Lalitavistara which know only the four *dvīpas* Jambu, Pūrva-videha, Aparagodāniya, and Uttarakuru (grouped around Meru to the south, east, west, and north, respectively, and constituting the whole world 'lokadhātu'), and give no hint of the Puranic geography. They represent an older period than does Mbh. 6. 5-12 in its present form. The general conception is the same; the particular names vary.

It is noteworthy that the sober geography of the Sūryasiddhānta (12. 38-40)³⁰ is based entirely on this earlier conception.

But the Kumbakonam edition (12. 14. 63) reads *aparena*, which the context calls for. There is no evidence to support the rendering of *adhareṇa* by 'west.'

²⁸ This passage seems to be unique in locating Krauñcadvīpa in the west and Bhadrāśva in the north. That it is not a late vagary is shown by the fact, which I hope to be able to prove later, that Śākadvīpa was originally located in the east. Mbh. 6. 12 locates Krauñcadvīpa in the north. For Krauñca as a northern mountain see Hopkins *JAOS* 1910. 358-9; Brhatsamhitā 14. 24; Rāmāyaṇa 4. 43. 25. The Brhatsamhitā 14. 13 and Mārkaṇḍeya 58. 23 (cf. note of Pargiter) locate a Krauñcadvīpa in the southern part of India, but the relation of this Krauñcadvīpa to the northern one is problematical. The Harivaṃśa 118 (1. 506); 198 (2. 303) has a Mt. Krauñca, in the north apparently, and a Krauñcapura in the south 95 (1. 406. 409). Kern (note on Brhatsamhitā 9. 11) traces the name Bhadrāśva back to Rig Veda 1. 115. 2-3. Mt. Krauñca appears first in Taittirīya Āraṇyaka 1. 31. 2.

²⁹ See Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, pp. 3, 4, 12, and *Legends and Theories of the Buddhists*, p. 80 ff. (especially p. 85); Gogerly, *Collected Works*, 1. 20, 74 note; Kern, *Der Buddhismus*, pp. 369-71; Childers s. v. *Mahāvastu*; Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, 1. 31-2; *Mahāvastu* (ed. Senart) 1. 6, 2; 1. 49, 6; 2. 68, 6; 2. 158, 18 to 159, 1; 3. 378, 2; *Lalitavistara* (ed. Lefmann), p. 19, 15-16 and p. 149, 19 ff.; Weber, *Indische Studien*, 3. 123, 148; Abel-Rémusat, Klaproth, and Landresse, *Foe Koue Ki*, p. 81; Pullé, 'La Cartografia antica dell' India,' *Studi Italiani di Filologia Indo-Iranica*, 4 (1901). 23-4. Hopkins' statement (*JAOS* 1910. 374), 'Buddhist world-theories are too late to be of much importance in this regard,' needs modification.

³⁰ Translated by Burgess and Whitney *JAOS* 6. 390.

The Jain texts, in general, seem to be closer to the Puranic conception than are the Buddhist texts;³¹ but the oldest texts need further investigation in this regard. Some texts give eight or nine, some as many as nineteen *dvīpas*. The names and the order of such elements as agree with Puranic elements differ considerably from the names and order of the Puranic tradition, which is itself not always consistent; but many elements are common to both traditions. There are, however, traces of a tradition intermediate between the theory of four *dvīpas*, as outlined above, and the Puranic theory of several concentric *dvīpas*. Weber describes (*IA* 30. 243-4) a theory of two concentric oceans and three (or two and a half) *dvīpas*. In the centre is Jambudvīpa divided by six parallel mountain-ranges into seven regions. The mountains, from south to north, are named Himavat, Mahāhimavat, Niṣadha, Nīlavata, Rūpya, and Śikharīn. The regions, from south to north, are Bhārata, Haimavata, Harivarṣa, Videha, Rāmyaka, Airāṇyavata, and Airāvata.³² Surrounding Jambudvīpa is the ocean of salt water. Then comes Dhātākikhanda (or Dhātukikhanda) surrounded by an ocean of fresh water.³³ Then comes Puṣkaradvīpa, the outer half of which is shut off by the Mānuṣottara mountains which cause perpetual darkness there.³⁴ The outer half of Puṣkaradvīpa is named Mahā-

³¹ See Weber, *Indische Studien*, 10. 267-9, 283 and 16. 391; *Verzeichniss der Sanskrit- und Prākṛit-Handschriften der königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, 2. 2. 553-4; 'Über ein Fragment der Bhagavatī,' *Abhandlungen Berl. Akad.* 1866. 204-6; 'The Śatruñjaya Māhātmyam' (trans. by Burgess) *IA* 30. 243 ff.; Colebrooke, *Essays*, 2. 199-201; Mitra, *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, 6. 101 and 8. 193; Jaini, *Outlines of Jainism*, pp. 121-2; Pullé, *op. cit.* 19-20; Thibaut, 'On the Sūryaprajñapti,' *JASB* 49. 118.

³² Colebrook, *Essays*, 2. 200, notes that Videha is divided into two parts, Eastern and Western (Pūrva and Aparā). Compare with this the Pūrva-videha of the Buddhists, and see Weber *IA* 30. 243. The name of the most northern region (Airāvata) agrees with the name of the most northern region of Mbh. 6. 6. 37-9.

³³ In Matsya 123. 6, 10 Dhātākī is the name of one of the districts of Gomēdadvīpa. In Mārkaṇḍeya 53. 19-20; Viṣṇu 2. 4. 74; Bhāgavata 5. 20. 31; Vāyu 33. 14-15 and 49. 113; Kūrma 40. 14 and 50. 5; Varāha 330. 16 Dhātākī (or Dhātākī) is the name of a prince, and of a district, of Puṣkaradvīpa.

³⁴ In the Purāṇas also Puṣkaradvīpa is divided into two parts by a range of mountains. Viṣṇu 2. 4. 81; Bhāgavata 5. 20. 30, 35 and 5. 21. 7, 13 name it Mānasottara. Matsya 123. 16; Vāyu 49. 110; Kūrma 50. 3; Varāha, p. 372, 3 name it Mānasa.

vīra.³⁵ The earliest Jain cosmography deserves a closer study and comparison with early Buddhist and Hindu cosmography.

In its description of Sudarśana³⁶ (evidently equivalent to Jambudvīpa) the Kumbakonam edition (6. 5. 17) has the words:

*dviraṁśas tu tataḥ plakṣo dviraṁśaḥ śālmaliḥ mahān
dviraṁśaḥ pippalas tasya dviraṁśaś ca kuśo mahān.*

The Bombay and Calcutta editions omit the first line and read: *dviraṁśe pippalas tatra dviraṁśe ca śaśo mahān.* In 6. 6. 2 all three editions read Pippala and Śaśa. In 6. 6. 13 all three editions have Bhadrāśva, Ketumāla, Jambudvīpa, and Uttarakuru. Noteworthy is the intrusion in the Kumbakonam edition of Plakṣa, Śālmali, and Kuśa in a description of Jambudvīpa. Plakṣa, so far as I know, is mentioned nowhere else in the Epic except in this passage of the Kumbakonam edition.³⁷ The context does not support the Kumbakonam reading, but these particular names would hardly have been used, even in a late interpolation, after they had become crystallized as names of concentric *dvīpas*. They are named here as parts of Jambudvīpa, not as independent *dvīpas*. If the line is an interpolation it seems to come from a period earlier than the Puranic geography.

Intermediate between the simple conception of four *dvīpas* grouped around Meru and the Puranic theory of seven *dvīpas* surrounded by and surrounding seven concentric oceans (Jambu,

³⁵ Vishnu 2. 4. 73-74 gives Mahāvīta as the name of the outer half of Puṣkaradvīpa. Wilson (2. 201) has Mahāvīra, but reports that most of the manuscripts read Mahāvīta. Vāyu 33. 14-15 and 49. 113; Matsya 123. 17; Mārkaṇḍeya 53. 19; Kūrma 50. 5 read Mahāvīta, although some manuscripts have Mahāvīra. Varāha, p. 330, 16 has Mahāvīti. Is the right reading Mahāvīra? Harivaṁśa does not know a Puṣkaradvīpa, but locates a Mt. Puṣkara in the north: 221 (2. 272) and 231 (2. 402). Cf. Mbh. 6. 12. 24.

³⁶ Taittiriya Āraṇyaka names a Mt. Sudarśana (1. 31. 2). Rāmāyaṇa 4. 40. 61 mentions a Sudarśanadvīpa, and 4. 43. 16 locates a Mt. Sudarśana in the north.

³⁷ Plakṣa is the fig-tree (*Ficus infectoria*). Names compounded with Plakṣa are commonly employed to designate the river Sarasvatī, and Plakṣāvatarana is the name of the place where the Sarasvatī breaks through the Himālayas. In Vāyu 46. 4-7 and Matsya 114. 64 Plakṣa is the name of a part of Kimpuruṣa, so called because of a Plakṣa tree. Gerini, *Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia*, pp. 39-43, makes an effort to connect the name of Plakṣa with Balakṣa or Palakṣa 'white, silver' and to locate it in Arakan and Burma.

Plakṣa, Śālmali, Kuśa, Krauñca, Śāka, and Puṣkara³⁸ surrounded respectively by the oceans of salt water, sugar-cane juice, wine, clarified butter, milk, curds, and fresh water) is the description of Mbh. 6. 11-12. In 6. 11. 1-3, after a description of Jambudvīpa has been given, Dhṛtarāṣṭra asks Saṁjaya for a description of Śāka, Kuśa, Śālmali, and Krauñca. In 6. 11. 4 is the statement: 'O king, this world is composed of very many *dvīpas*, but I shall describe to you only seven *dvīpas* and also the sun and the moon and the planets.'³⁹ After a brief description of Jambudvīpa comes a description of Śākadvīpa which is surrounded on all sides by the Milk Sea (6. 11. 10), but no statement is made as to its direction from Jambudvīpa. Then in 6. 12. 1 is the statement: *uttareṣu ca kauravya dvīpeṣu śrūyate kathā. evaṁ tatra mahārāja bruvataś ca nibodha me*. Then the oceans of clarified butter, curds, wine, and water, and the *dvīpas* Kuśa, Śālmali, and Krauñca are enumerated. In verse 24 is the statement: 'In Puṣkaradvīpa there is a mountain called Puṣkara full of gems and jewels' and in verse 26 it is stated that 'various gems come thither from Jambudvīpa.'⁴⁰ No specific ocean is mentioned in connection with it, and there is no direct statement to the effect that it is situated in the north. But in verse three it is said that the *dvīpas* double in size as one goes north and that they are surrounded by these oceans. That seemingly makes it necessary to include Puṣkara among the northern *dvīpas* and to connect it with the ocean of fresh water. Yet in verse four it is said that in 'the middle *dvīpa*' (that rules out Puṣkara the fourth)⁴¹ is a large mountain named Gaura, and that in the *paścima dvīpa* is

³⁸ Gerini (*loc. cit.* pp. 39-43, 80-1, 670-3, 244, 164-7, 249) thinks that these are all historical and locates the last six in Indo-China and the far east.

³⁹ For references to 'many *dvīpas*' see Hopkins *JAOS* 1910. 370-2. The number seven is not to be taken too literally. Cf. 1. 75. 19, Purūravas 'had sway over thirteen *dvīpas* of the sea'; 3. 3. 52 'the whole earth with her thirteen *dvīpas*'; 3. 134. 20 'thirteen *dvīpas* exist on earth'; 7. 70. 15 refers to eighteen *dvīpas*; 12. 14. 25, after the statement that the king had conquered Bhadrāśva, Ketumāla, Bhārata, and Uttarakuru it is said that he penetrated the ocean and ruled the populous *dvīpas* and *antaradvīpas*. It seems clear that these passages describe the whole earth and have no knowledge of concentric *dvīpas*.

⁴⁰ Compare Vāyu 49. 137.

⁴¹ Although six mountains are enumerated in Kuśa and in Krauñca only Mt. Gaura is mentioned in connection with Śālmali.

a large mountain named Krishna⁴² which is a favorite abode of Nārāyaṇa. *Pāścīma* usually means 'western,' which seems out of place here. Yet Krishna is not enumerated among the six mountains of Krauñcadvīpa, nor is it mentioned in the description of Puṣkaradvīpa. The dilemma is one from which there is no escape on the basis of our uncritical editions of the Mahābhārata. The matter is further complicated by the fact that in the request for information only Śākadvīpa, Kuśadvīpa, Śālmadvīpa, and Krauñcadvīpa are named. They with Jambu make five. In 6. 11. 4 a description of seven was promised, but only six are actually described. A description of Puṣkaradvīpa, not asked for, is given, and in both request and answer Plakṣadvīpa is omitted.⁴³ Surely the number seven is not to be taken literally. The description of Śākadvīpa is so clearly marked off from that of the *dvīpas* which are said to be situated in the north that there is no necessary reason for believing that it too was located in the north. More details are given about it than about the other *dvīpas*. The names of four castes there are given. This detail is extended by the Purāṇas to the other *dvīpas* also. Its seven mountains, including Meru,⁴⁴ seem to be modelled on the seven *kulaparvatas* of Jambudvīpa. It is described in second place, and seems to be more historical than the other *dvīpas*.

Significant is the fact that, while the Mahābhārata states that the *dvīpas* are surrounded by oceans, nowhere is it stated that the *dvīpas* surround the oceans.⁴⁵ The Mahābhārata does not know the theory of concentric circles of land. Its *dvīpas* are really islands. The Puranic theory may be due merely to a misunder-

⁴² Vāyu 44. 4; Mārkaṇḍeya 59. 12 locate a Mt. Krishna in the west in Ketumāla. Mārkaṇḍeya 55. 10 describes a Mt. Krishna west of Meru.

⁴³ Pullé *op. cit.* 17-19 makes the number described to be seven by including Gomanta, but Gomanta is plainly only one of the six mountains of Kuśadvīpa (not of Krauñcadvīpa as stated by Sørensen, *Index to the Names in the Mahābhārata* s. v.), and Puṣkara, not Gomanta, is surrounded by the ocean of fresh water. Cf. Mt. Gomanta in *Bṛhatsamhitā*, 16. 17.

⁴⁴ Compare Vāyu 49. 78; Matsya 122. 8.

⁴⁵ See Hopkins *JAOS* 1910. 368 note. For the Puranic descriptions see for instance Matsya 122. 3, 49, 79, 92, and 123. 1, 12-13; Vāyu 49. 2, 30, 47, 60, 75, 105. Phrases of the following type are employed: *tenāvṛtaḥ samudro 'yaṁ dvīpena lavaṇodakāḥ*. Mbh. 6. 5. 15; 6. 11. 10; 6. 12. 3 has only the words *lavaṇena samudreṇa samantāt parivāritaḥ; kṣīrodo bhārataśreṣṭha yena samparivāritaḥ; samudraiḥ parivāritaḥ*.

standing of this passage of the Mahābhārata, or distant islands and peninsulas such as Indo-China, Java, Sumatra, and Arabia may have been regarded as forming circles of land around India. Is the number seven taken from the number of the planets as Weber has suggested?⁴⁶

In the Puranic accounts Śākadvīpa is usually placed sixth in order, but there was a variant theory which placed it second in order, and this latter tradition seems to be the earlier one.⁴⁷ In

⁴⁶ The seven *karshvars* of the Avesta (cf. especially Bundahish 11-12, but the idea occurs as early as Ys. 32, 3) seem to be too late to be the source of the Indian conception. See *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, 2. 673; Justi, *Handbuch*, s. v.; Geiger, *The Civilization of the Eastern Iranians*, 1. 130 note; Weber, *Indische Skizzen*, p. 108; Spiegel, 'über das Zendavesta,' *ZDMG* 6. 85-6.

⁴⁷ See Bhāskara, *Golādhyāya* (3. 21-44) of the *Siddhāntaśiromaṇi* as quoted by Wilson, *The Vishnu Purāṇa*, 2. 110; Matsya 122. 1; Varāha 86; Yogavāsiṣṭha 3. 25. 15; 3. 73. 58; 6 (Uttarārdha). 183. 60. Bhāskara, *loc. cit.*; Matsya 123. 1; Varāha 89; Yogavāsiṣṭha 3. 73. 54 and 6 (Uttarārdha). 134. 54 and 183. 65 have Gomeda in sixth place and omit Plakṣa. This may be accounted for by the fact that Vāyu 49. 6; Vishnu 2. 4. 7; Kūrma 49. 3 give Gomeda as the name of a mountain or district of Plakṣadvīpa. Vāyu 45. 51-60 describes a Candradvīpa to the south of the Uttarakurus as 'a great dvīpa, the abode of the gods' and continues: *pāścimena tu dvīpasya pāścimasya prakīrtitaṁ caturyojanasāhasraṁ samāntīya mahodadhīm daśayojanasāhasraṁ samantāt parimaṇḍalam dvīpaṁ bhadrākaraṁ nāma*. Mārkaṇḍeya 59. 28 after describing the Uttarakurus says that in the ocean are the islands Candradvīpa, Bhadradvīpa, and Pūnya. Liṅga (according to Mitra, *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, 3. 215) describes a Candradvīpa and a Śakradvīpa. Varāha 84 (pp. 363-4) after a description of the Uttarakurus has: *tasyaiva dvīpasya pāścimena caturyojanasahasraṁ atikramya devalokāc candradvīpo bhavati yojanasahasraparimaṇḍalah*. In this are the mountains Candrakānta and Sūryakānta. Then it describes a Sūryadvīpa as situated north of Uttarakuru, and west of that (*pāścimena*) the dvīpa Bhadrākara. Kūrma also (47. 6) describes a Candradvīpa in connection with Uttarakuru. Mārkaṇḍeya 59. 22 and Vāyu 45. 25 locate the mountains Candrakānta and Sūryakānta in Uttarakuru. Vāyu 49. 7; Vishnu 2. 4. 7; Kūrma 49. 3 locate a Mt. Candra in Plakṣadvīpa. What is the relation of Candradvīpa and Sūryadvīpa to the Sūradivā and Candadivā of the Jains? (cf. Weber, *Indische Studien*, 16. 391 and Warren, *JAOS* 26. 92). It is to be noted that the Romaka-siddhānta (Aufrecht, *Cat. Ozon.* 338b. 6) names the dvīpas Jambu, Kuśa, Candra, Sālmala, Plakṣa, Gomeda, and Puṣkara with the substitution of Candra and Gomeda for Krauñca and Śāka. What is the relation of Candradvīpa to Svētadvīpa and to Somagiri of the Rāmāyaṇa? Kūrma 45. 2. 40 names the dvīpas Jambu, Plakṣa, Sālmali, Kuśa, Krauñca, Śāka and Puṣkara; but 49. 1 describes the Milk Sea as surrounding Jambudvīpa,

the passage just quoted from the Mahābhārata Śākadvīpa is described in second place and more details are given about it than about the other *dvīpas*.

If the Śākadvīpa of Mbh. 6. 11 is not to be located in the north are there any clues as to its probable location? Mbh. 12. 14. 23 (quoted above) unequivocally locates Śākadvīpa east of Meru. A passage of Bhāskara says:⁴⁸ 'Venerable teachers have stated that Jambudvīpa embraces the whole northern hemisphere lying to the north of the salt sea, and that the other six *dvīpas*, and the (seven) Seas, viz., those of salt, milk, etc., are all situated in the southern hemisphere. To the south of the equator lies the salt sea, and to the south of it, the sea of milk, whence sprang the nectar, the moon, and the (goddess) Śrī and where the omnipresent Vāsudeva, to whose lotus-feet Brahmā and all the gods bow in reverence, holds his favorite residence. Beyond the sea of milk lie, in succession, the seas of curds, clarified butter, sugarcane juice, and wine, and, last of all, that of sweet water, which surrounds Vadavānala.'

Even more significant is the important passage of Rāmāyaṇa 4. 40 in which is given a long description of the journey that is to be made by the monkeys eastward (verses 19, 54) in search of Sītā.⁴⁹ It is there said that the searchers, after leaving India,

whereas in 50. 1 the Milk Sea is said to surround Śākadvīpa. Further, in 49 (p. 420, 3) are the words *Śākadvīpam samāvṛtya kṣīrodah sūgarah sthītaḥ Svetadvīpam ca tanmadhye nārāyaṇaparāyaṇāḥ*. A long description of Svetadvīpa and the worship of Nārāyaṇa practised there follows. Then 50. 1 continues: *Śākadvīpasya vistārād dviguṇena vyavasthitaḥ kṣīrārṇavam samāśritya dvīpam puṣkarasaṃjñitam* as though Svetadvīpa had not been mentioned. Why the unmotivated intrusion of Svetadvīpa? The manuscripts of the Kūrma described by Mitra, *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, 3. 278-9 and by Weber, *Verzeichniss Berl.* 1. 128 seem to differ from this edition. Yogavāsīṣṭha 3. 73. 53-8 gives the *dvīpas* as Jambu, Śāka, Kuśa, Śveta, Krauñca, Gomeda, and Puskara; 6 (Uttarārḍha). 183. 60 ff. has Jambu, Śāka, Kuśa, Krauñca, Śālmali, Gomeda, and Puskara. So 3. 25. 15, except that Plaksa is substituted for Gomeda. The Nāradapañcarātra 2. 2. 84-91 (according to Weber, 'Die Rāma-Tāpanīya-Upanishad,' *Abhandlungen Berl. Akad.* 1864. 278 note) describes Svetadvīpa as an *upadvīpa* of Śālmalidvīpa.

⁴⁸ As quoted by Wilson, *The Vishnu Purāṇa*, 2. 110-1.

⁴⁹ The passage is referred to by Barnett, *The Antiquities of India*, pp. 200-1 and by Mookerji, *A History of Indian Shipping*, pp. 55-6. Extensive use has been made of it by Gerini, *Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia*, pp. 725-6 and often.

will first come to *Yavadvīpa* (probably Java) *saptarājyopaśobhitam* and *Suvarṇarūpyakadvīpaṃ suvarṇakaramaṇḍitam*,⁵⁰ then to a mountain named Śīsira,⁵¹ then to a river *raktajalaṃ śonākhyam śīghravāhinam*; then to an ocean *kālameghapratimam*; then to an ocean *raktajalaṃ lohitaṃ nāma*⁵² where there is a *kūṭasālmali*; then to the *pāṇḍurameghābhaṃ kṣīrodam*⁵³ in the midst of which is a mountain (*mahān śveta ṛṣabho nāma parvataḥ*) on which is a lake named Sudarśana; then to the *jalodaṃ sāgaram* in which is the Hayamukha (whirlpool). On the northern shore of this ocean is a mountain *jātarūpaśilo nāma sumahān kanakaprabhaḥ* and beyond this, in the east, the Udayagiri, one peak of which is named Saumānasa.⁵⁴ In Gorresio's edition, which differs considerably from the above account, the stages of the journey are marked by the following names: Jaldvīpa, Gaṇadvīpa, Jambudvīpa, Śīsira, Kālodaka, Lohita (with the *kūṭasālmali*), Mt. Gośrṅga, Kṣīroda (with Mt. Anśumat and Lake Sudarśana), Ghṛtoda, Jātarūpaśila, Udayagiri, and Saumānasa. The first three names are puzzling. The ocean Kālameghapratimam or Kāloḍa is comparable to the Kāloḍa, which, in some Jain accounts, surrounds the second *dvīpa* Dhātaki.⁵⁵ Lohita is comparable to the red ocean of wine (*surā*) which sur-

⁵⁰ Probably Sumatra. At any rate it corresponds to the later *Suvarṇabhūmi*. The commentator takes the word as a *dvandva* containing two names.

⁵¹ *Harivaṃśa* 220 (2. 370) gives this as the name of a mountain in the east. In *Vāyu* 33. 32-3 it is the name of a district in *Plakṣadvīpa*; in *Vishnu* 2. 2. 26 and *Bhāgavata* 5. 16. 27 the name of a mountain near Mt. Meru; in *Varāha* (p. 331, l. 7) the name of a prince of Śākadvīpa.

⁵² Compare the red sea named *Lohitya* in *Harivaṃśa* 231 (2. 401); mentioned in connection with the Milk Ocean and Mt. Udaya in the east. Compare also the Jain *Arunadvīpa* and the *Arunodaya* (red) sea (Weber, 'Über ein Fragment der Bhagavati,' *Abhandlungen Berl. Akad.* 1866. 203-4 and *Verzeichniss Berlin*, 2. 2. 553-4). *Vishnu* 2. 2. 24 locates a lake named *Arunoda* in the east in *Bhadrāśva*. Cf. *Lohitya* (in the east) in the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* 14. 6.

⁵³ Compare *Rāmāyaṇa* 4. 46. 15: 'Having gone to the eastern region I beheld the Milk Ocean, the constant abode of the Apsarasas.' *Harivaṃśa* 231 (2. 401) mentions the Milk Ocean in the east in connection with the red ocean *Lohitya* and Mt. Udaya.

⁵⁴ *Harivaṃśa* 220 (2. 370) locates Udayagiri and Mt. Saumānasa in the east.

⁵⁵ See for instance Weber, *Indische Studien*, 16. 391.

rounds Śālmaliadvīpa; the mention of the *kūṭasālmali* makes the identification certain. Kṣīroda is comparable to the Milk Ocean which surrounds Śākadvīpa.⁵⁶ The Ghṛtoda is comparable to the Ghṛtoda which surrounds Kuśadvīpa. Jaloda is comparable to the ocean of fresh water which surrounds Puṣkaradvīpa. Hayamukha is the same as the Vaḍavāmukha or Vaḍavānala of Mbh. and the Purāṇas.⁵⁷ The passage seems to be old, older even than the geographical passage of Mbh. 6. It probably reflects travellers' tales of voyages to the east. Note also that Rāmāyaṇa 4. 42. 38 locates Meru in the west, not in the north. Contrast with 4. 40 the late passage printed at the bottom of the page in the Bombay edition after 7. 37, which mentions Śvetadvīpa and refers to 'the earth with its seven *dvīpas* and seas.'⁵⁸

In Jātaka 463 is a description of a voyage made by a ship from Bharukaccha. After a favorable voyage of seven days it is carried away by a storm. At the end of four months it came to the Khuramāla sea (so called because it was full of great fish which stuck their sharp, razor-like snouts above the water); then it passed through the seas named Aggimāla⁵⁹ (blazing like fire), Dadhimāla (the color of curds), Nilavaṇṇakusamāla or Kusamāla (the color of *kuśa* grass), Nalamāla (red like coral, according to the scholiast),⁶⁰ and came to the Valabhamukha.⁶¹

⁵⁶ Nowhere do I find the name Rṣabha connected with Śākadvīpa and the Milk Ocean, but Mbh. 5. 112. 22 and 5. 113. 1 locate a Mt. Rṣabha in the east (5. 112. 1-2), across the ocean. In Mbh. and the Purāṇas it is the name of a mountain in India and of a mountain north of Meru. Cf. Wilson, *The Vishnu Purana*, 2. 117, 141 note. Vāyu 49. 11 locates a Mt. Rṣabha in Plaksadvīpa. Rāmāyaṇa 4. 41. 40 and Harivaṃśa 220 (2. 371) locate it in the south. In Kathāsaritsāgara 54. 16 Vrsabha is the name of a mountain in Nārikeladvīpa (located by the Bṛhatsamhitā in the southeast).

⁵⁷ Bhāskara (in the passage quoted above); Vāyu 47. 76 locate it in the south; Mbh. 12. 347. 59 in the northeast. Compare Kathāsaritsāgara 26. 10; Hardy, *Legends and Theories of the Buddhists*, p. 90; Gerini, *op. cit.*, 782 (note to p. 247).

⁵⁸ Hopkins, *The Great Epic*, p. 72, thinks that this obviously late passage is copied from Mbh. 12.

⁵⁹ By a curious coincidence the mediaeval traveller Marignolli (Yule-Cordier, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, 3. 231), who voyaged from China to India, describes a sea which blazed like fire: 'The sea as if in flames, and fire-spitting dragons flying by.'

⁶⁰ Mbh. 6. 12. 9 describes a mountain in Kuśadvīpa as abounding in coral.

⁶¹ For this whole passage see Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 13.

Dadhimāla is comparable to the Puranic ocean of curds. Kusamāla is comparable to the Puranic Kuśadvīpa. Nalamāla is comparable to the Puranic red ocean of wine. Valabhamukha is the same as the Hayamukha of the Rāmāyaṇa. This Jātaka also is evidently based on travellers' tales, and contains early elements. This is much more probable than the opposite conclusion, namely, that we have here reminiscences of the Puranic descriptions made still more mythical. The direction of the voyage is not given, but if the comparison with the account in the Rāmāyaṇa has any validity it may well have been to the east.

Further, Varāhamihira (sixth century A. D.) in the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* 14. 6 locates the Milk Ocean in the east.⁶²

Mbh. 6. 6. 55 describes Kaśyapadvīpa and Nāgadvīpa as forming the two ears of Śaśa 'the hare' (a portion of Jambudvīpa), with the statement that they are situated in the north and south respectively. The Kumbakonam edition reads Śākadvīpa for Nāgadvīpa. The fact that in the Purāṇas Nāgadvīpa is regularly described as one of the nine *varṣas* of Bhāratavarṣa militates against the reading of the Kumbakonam edition;⁶³ yet even so Śākadvīpa would hardly have been inserted in the southern text if Śākadvīpa were regarded as one of the concentric *dvīpas*. Kaśyapadvīpa does not seem to occur in the Puranic tradition.

There is enough evidence, I think, to lead to the conclusion that Śākadvīpa and a Milk Ocean were at an early date located in the east or south. The name originally had nothing to do with Śaka 'Seythian.'⁶⁴ That connection was due to a later confusion. There is no reason at all for doubting the unanimous testimony of Mbh. and the Purāṇas that the *dvīpas* were named from trees and plants, except Krauñcadvīpa which was named

⁶² Kern (note *ad loc.*) thinks that the Gauras, 'the Whites,' of *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* 14. 7 are to be connected with Śvetadvīpa.

⁶³ For Nāgadvīpa see Vāyu 45. 79; Matsya 114. 8; Mārkaṇḍeya 57. 7; Vishnu 2. 3. 7.

⁶⁴ Weber, 'Über die Magavyakti,' *Monatsberichte Berl. Akad.* 1879. 456, n. 2, accepts the Puranic etymologies for all the other names, but sees in Śākadvīpa (and Śvetadvīpa) names of 'politische Bedeutung.' See also Banerji *IA* 1908. 42. The arguments of Spooner *JRAS* 1915. 437-40 and of Hewitt, *The Ruling Races of Prehistoric Times*, p. 146 (who connects Śāka with the 'wet lands' of northern India) lack any solid foundation.

from Mt. Krauñca.⁶⁵ The Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas frequently name the Śakas as a barbarian tribe dwelling in the north or north-west, but nowhere do they connect the Śakas with Śākadvīpa.⁶⁶ Even if Śākya, the name of the clan in which Buddha was born, is to be connected with the name of the Śāka tree, as Fleet argues with great probability,⁶⁷ it proves nothing as to the origin of the name Śākadvīpa. The teak tree is indigenous to both peninsulas of India. Granted an early acquaintance with Indo-China, the tradition which connects the name Śākadvīpa with the Śāka tree and with the east, is more credible than the later tradition which derives the name from that of a tribe in the north-west where there are no Śāka trees. Granted that there are Śāka trees in north-eastern India south of the Himālayas, granted that it could be proved, as has not yet been done by Hewitt or Spooner, that Śakas or Persians or other tribes from the far north-west invaded north-eastern India and settled there, there is not a scrap of evidence to prove that the name Śākadvīpa was originally applied to that country or to any other part of India.

⁶⁵ See for instance Mbh. 6. 7. 20; 6. 11. 27-8; 6. 12. 6-7; Vāyu 35. 32; 49. 27, 44, 45, 61, 132-5; Matsya 114. 75; 122. 27, 81; 123. 36-9; Bhāgavata 5. 20. 2, 8, 13, 18, 24, 30; Vishnu 2. 2. 18; 2. 4. 18, 33, 44. Compare Hopkins *JAOS* 1910. 353-4.

⁶⁶ See for instance Rāmāyaṇa 4. 43. 12; Mbh. 2. 32. 17; Vāyu 45. 116; Matsya 114. 41; Mārkaṇḍeya 59. 14. Although Mbh. 2. 32. 17 locates the Śakas in the west, a neighboring passage 2. 30. 14 places the Śakas and other barbarians in the east. The same, apparently, is true of 2. 52. 16. See the note of Pargiter to Mārkaṇḍeya 58. 6. Are these the Buddhist Śākyas or the Burmese Saks or Sakai? See Gerini, *op. cit.* 165-7, 255 note, 254 note. Yogavāsishṭha 6 (Uttarārdha). 112. 28 and 124. 17 definitely locates the Śakas or Śākas in the east. As I have no access to an edition of the text I quote from the loose translation of Mitra, who gives both *sacas* and *sāks*. Yet another passage (*ibid.* 123. 7 ff.) seems to locate Uttarakuru in the north, Kuśa and Śālmali in the west (126. 19 refers Śālmali to the south), Śāka in the south, and Krauñca in the east. This text (3. 25. 15; 3. 73. 52; 6 (Uttarārdha). 126. 9 and 183. 2) clearly refers to seven concentric *dvīpas* and oceans, although 3. 59. 12 speaks of the four oceans. People living in one of the circular *dvīpas* might be located in the north, south, east, or west; yet the fact that in two passages the *sacas* or *sāks* are located in the east is significant.

⁶⁷ *JRAS* 1906. 163. The conclusions drawn from this by Spooner 'The Zoroastrian Period of Indian History,' *JRAS* 1915, are surely fallacious.

Mbh. 6. 11. 36-8 gives the names of four castes in Śākadvīpa, but gives no names for castes in any of the other dvīpas. The last two names Mānasa and Mandaga cause no difficulty; the texts all agree. The Bombay and Kumbakonam editions have Maṅga for the first and Maśaka for the second. The Calcutta edition has Mr̥ga for the first and Maśaka for the second. Hall, in a note to Wilson, *The Vishnu Purana*, 2. 199-200, reports that three of his manuscripts of that Purāṇa have Mr̥ga in both occurrences of the name, two have Mār̥ga in the first and Maga in the second, the rest, 'a preponderant number,' have Maga in both places. The Vāyu, Matsya, and Mārkaṇḍeya do not give the names at all. The Kūrma 49 (p. 419, l. 14) has Maga and Magadha in four manuscripts, Mr̥ga and Magadha (the text reading) in the other four. The Brahma 20. 71 has Maga and Māgadha. The Bhāgavata 5. 20. 28, following a variant tradition, has Ṛtavrata, Satyavrata, Dānavrata, and Anuvrata.⁶⁸ The Khalavaktracapeṭikā⁶⁹ follows the Bhāgavata for the castes of Śākadvīpa, and locates the Magas, Masakas, Mānasas, and Mandagas in Plakṣadvīpa. The Magavyakti⁷⁰ and the Sāmva-vijaya⁷¹ have Maga, Māgasa (or Magasa), Mānasa, and Mandaga. The Bhaviṣya⁷² has Maga, Magasa, Mānasa, and Mandaga. Alberuni,⁷³ quoting from the Vishnu as known in his time, gives Mr̥ga, Māgadha, Mānasa, and Mandaga. Unless a careful examination of the oldest and best manuscripts of the Mahābhārata shows that Maga is the probable reading there is no reason at all for changing Mr̥ga or Maṅga to Maga.⁷⁴ If a mere

⁶⁸ The Kūrma like the Bhāgavata and the Vishnu gives a list of castes for all the dvīpas. The Kūrma and Vishnu agree for the most part. The Bhāgavata is entirely different. The working out of names for all the castes of all the dvīpas seems to be a late development based on the names given by the Mahābhārata for Śākadvīpa.

⁶⁹ Weber, *Monatsberichte Berl. Akad.* 1880. 53; but see pp. 55, 59, 62.

⁷⁰ Weber, *Monatsberichte Berl. Akad.* 1879. 455.

⁷¹ Weber, *Monatsberichte Berl. Akad.* 1880. 32. Cf. Bhandarkar *IA* 1911. 17-8.

⁷² Aufrecht, *Cat. Oxon.* 33a. 14.

⁷³ Translated by Sachau, 1. 255.

⁷⁴ Weber, *Monatsberichte Berl. Akad.* 1879. 456 note, says 'dafür ist natürlich Maga zu lesen' and 'dass die Bombayer Ausgabe Maṅga hat, will nichts besagen,' and *Indische Skizzen*, p. 105 note: 'Maga (so ist zu lesen statt Mr̥ga).' Considering the lateness of the texts on which he based

corruption of the text be involved it is vastly easier (considering the peculiar character of the Devanāgarī alphabet) to explain the dropping of *ṛ* or *ñ* than the addition of the same letters. The dropping might have been accidental; the addition seems to have been intentional. Is it not significant that there are no variants for the last two names? The Mahābhārata and the Harivaṁśa, even in late passages, make no mention of the Magas. So far as I know, the earliest passages in which the Magas are mentioned are in Varāhamihira's Brhatsaṃhitā 58. 46-8 and 60. 19.⁷⁵

In the geographical passage Mbh. 6. 5-12 Śvetadvīpa is not mentioned. Mbh. 12. 335. 8-9 describes Śvetadvīpa as a large *dvīpa* in the north, distant more than 32,000 yojanas from Meru, and situated in the Milk Ocean. Mbh. 12. 336. 23 describes Ekata, Dvita, and Trita as practising penances north of Meru on the shores of a Milk Ocean, and in verse 27 Śvetadvīpa is said to lie on the northern shores of this Milk Ocean. Compare with this the parallel passage Mbh. 6. 8. 10-11 in which the northern *varṣa* Airāvata is said to stretch to the ocean, and verse 15 which states that Hari dwells north of the Milk Ocean.⁷⁶ However, in Mbh. 6. 11. 6 Jambudvīpa is said to be surrounded by an ocean of salt water double its own extent,⁷⁷ and in verse 10 Śākadvīpa is described as surrounded by a Milk Ocean. Mbh. 12. 336. 23-7 agrees exactly with 6. 8. 10-15, but cannot be brought into agreement with 6. 11. 10. All that is lacking in 6. 8. 10-15 is the name Śvetadvīpa. It is natural to draw the conclusion that the later passage has merely superimposed *bhakti* ideas upon an older mythical conception, and given the name Śvetadvīpa to Hari's abode. The conclusion that Mbh. 12. 335-6

his argument and the fact that they deliberately aim at a glorification of the Śākadvīpiya Brahmans and a connection of them with Magadha (Weber, *ibid.* 1880. 47 and note, 54, n. 2) such a conclusion is arbitrary and absurd.

⁷⁵ See Weber, *Indische Skizzen*, p. 104 and *Monatsberichte Berl. Akad.* 1879. 456-7. Note also that Mbh. 3. 3. 61 gives Mihira as a name of the sun. The name seems to be Persian. Cf. Weber, *Indische Skizzen*, pp. 103-4; Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 89 and *JAOS* 1910. 373.

⁷⁶ Compare Harivaṁśa 233 (2. 405) which relates that Vishnu returned to his abode on the northern shores of the Milk Ocean.

⁷⁷ Compare the Uttarakhaṇḍa of the Padma (257. 120) which describes Śvetadvīpa as situated north of the Toyābdhi.

is based on old mythical conceptions is corroborated by the following passages. In Rāmāyaṇa 4. 43. 53 the monkeys in the course of their search for Sītā in the north come to the shores of the ocean. They are told there that to the north lies the ocean, that in the midst of this the great golden mountain Somagiri is situated, and that on this mountain the lord of the gods (*bhagavān viśvātmā śambhur ekādaśātmako brahmā deveśaḥ*) dwells with the Brahmarṣis.⁷⁸ 'You cannot travel to the north of the Uttarakurus. That region is untrodden by the steps of any living beings. Somagiri is difficult of access even to the gods themselves.' Gorresio's edition has the additional words: 'Only those who have gone to the world of Indra, of Brahmā, to heaven have seen Somagiri.' Further, Mbh. 2. 28. 9-12 describes how Arjuna in his career of conquest penetrated far north to the Uttarakurus. There he was told: 'He that enters this country—if he is human—is sure to perish. He who shall enter this country must be more than man. Even if you did enter you could see nothing here, for nothing here can be seen with human eyes.' He would be blinded by the god-glory just as the sages of Mbh. 12. 336 were. Moreover, Aitareya Brāhmaṇa 8. 23 describes how king Bharata conquered the whole earth except Uttarakuru. There he was told: 'This is the land of the gods; no mortal can conquer it.' Harivaṃśa 169 (2. 186-8) relates that Krishna, Arjuna, and a Brahman mounted a chariot and journeyed north. After passing a multitude of mountains, rivers, and forests they came to an ocean.⁷⁹ At the command of

⁷⁸ This passage is parallel to Mbh. 6. 8. 10-15. The Milk Ocean is not mentioned. Harivaṃśa 220 (2. 372) locates in the north a Mt. Saumya, the light of which replaces the light of the sun just as in Rāmāyaṇa 4. 43. 54. Compare Mbh. 13. 165. 33 'sacred Somagiri.'

⁷⁹ Compare Mbh. 5. 14. 6-9, which describes the search of Indrāṇī for Indra, who had fled after the slaying of Vṛtra: 'Having traversed many divine forests, and many mountains, and having crossed the Himavat, she reached the northern side of it. And having crossed an ocean which extended over many *yojanas* she came to a large *dvīpa* which was covered with trees and creepers. There she saw a beautiful, heavenly lake frequented by many birds, a hundred *yojanas* long and as many broad. There she saw, O son of Bharata, thousands of beautiful lotuses of five colors, full-blown, and around which bees hummed.' Indra was there discovered hidden in a lotus stalk. The hiding-place is usually located in Lake Mānasa. Cf. Mbh. 12. 342. 42. What ocean is meant in these passages?

Krishna the ocean opened and allowed them to pass through as though on dry land. They then passed Mt. Gandhamādana and came to the seven mountains Jayanta, Vijayanta, Nīla, Rajata, Meru, Kailāsa, and Indrakūṭa. At the will of Krishna they disappeared and opened a way.^{79a} The chariot passed through them as the sun passes through clouds. Then they came to a thick mist. Here the horses came to a halt, unable to proceed farther. Krishna struck the mist with his *cakra* and the air cleared. Then Arjuna saw on all sides a marvellous light. Krishna left Arjuna and the Brahman, and entered into the great light. He returned with the children of the Brahman; and in an instant they were back in Dvāravatī. Krishna later explained to Arjuna that the great light was he himself (Krishna).⁸⁰ 'In penetrating it mortals wise in *yoga* reach final emancipation.' Mbh. 5. 111. 1-6 has the following striking passage: 'Since a man is absolved from his sins in this quarter and since he attains salvation here, it is called North (*uttara*), O twice-born one, from its power of absolution (*uttaraṇa*). And since the north, which is the region of gold, stretches between the east and the west therefore is it called the central region. In this northern region, which is the best, none that is not tranquil, none that has not brought his soul under control, and none that is vicious, lives. Here lives Nārāyaṇa and the victorious Krishna, that best among men, in the hermitage of Badarī,⁸¹ and so does the eternal Brahmā. Here on the breast of the Himavat lives Maheśvara who is endued with effulgence like that of the fire which blazes at the termination of each Yuga. He is invis-

^{79a} Compare Mbh. 12. 333. 10.

⁸⁰ Compare Mbh. 13. 14. 382-3. Vishnu relates that after he had performed severe penances he saw a great light 'that seemed to be as dazzling as that of a thousand suns.' In the center of this he saw a cloud which looked like a mass of blue hills, and within the cloud was Mahādeva of dazzling splendor. In Mbh. 12. 336. 39-40 also Vishnu appears in the midst of a great light which seemed 'like the effulgence of a thousand suns.'

⁸¹ Compare Mbh. 12. 334. 16-18 which relates that Krishna, Hari, Nara, and Nārāyaṇa were once in one form, but now are four. Nara and Nārāyaṇa are now dwelling in the hermitage of Badarī (at the source of the Ganges). Krishna and Hari also lived there formerly. It is clear from this and what follows that the original single form of Vishnu is to be found farther north. It is taken farther and farther away from the world of reality.

ible to the *munis*, and to the gods, including Vāsava, the Gandharvas, the Yakṣas, and the Siddhas. He is visible only to Nara and Nārāyaṇa.⁸² Here lives the eternal Vishnu of a thousand eyes, a thousand feet, and a thousand heads who appears one by the power of illusion.' Mbh. 3. 163. 17-24 tells that the place where Nārāyaṇa resides is invisible even to the gods. It is situated to the east of Meru: *yatayas tatra gacchanti bhaktyā nārāyaṇam harim, pareṇa tapasā yuktā bhāvitāḥ karmabhīḥ śubhaiḥ, yogasiddhā mahātmānaś tamomohavivarjitāḥ*. Mbh. 3. 43. 4-6 describes a journey to Amaravati, the city of Indra. It represents an older conception before that was overlaid with the *bhakti* ideas. 'None but those who have performed penances, and poured libations on fire, can behold it. That place is for the performers of pious deeds, not for those who have turned their faces from the field of battle. It is invisible to those who have not celebrated sacrifices or performed penances; to those who have turned away from the Veda and the Śruti; to those who have not bathed in sacred waters; to those who are not distinguished for sacrifices and gifts. Those who have put obstacles in the way of the performers of sacrifice, who are mean, who are addicted to drinking, who have violated their preceptor's bed, who have eaten meat, who are wicked-minded, are not able to see it.' See also Mbh. 3. 146. 92-3 *ataḥ param agamyo 'yam parvataḥ sudurāruhaḥ. vinā siddhagatiṁ vira gatiṁ atra na vidyate. devālokaśya mārgo 'yam agamyo mānuṣaiḥ sadā*; 3. 159. 22 *na cāpy ataḥ param śakyam gantum bharatasattamāḥ. vihāro hy atra devānām amānuṣagatis tu sā*; 5. 111. 19-20 *naitat kenacid anyena gatapūrvam dvijaṛṣabhaḥ rte nārāyaṇam devaṁ naraṁ vā jīṣṇum avyayam*. The Sūryasiddhānta 12. 41 (cf. Wilson, *The Vishnu Purana*, II. 207) states that 'Northward, in the clime Kuru, is declared to be the city called that of the Perfected (*siddha*); in it dwell the magnanimous Perfected, free from trouble.' Passages which describe the perfection of the inhabitants of Uttarakuru, or which call the north *punya* could be multiplied, but these are enough for my purpose. Such passages, which obviously fall into the same category as Mbh. 12.

⁸² Compare Mbh. 5. 111. 19-20 and 12. 344. 4 where Nara and Nārāyaṇa declare that no one but they can reach that place where dwells the original form of Vishnu. A way was later found through *bhakti* by which all *bhāktas* could go to the realm of Vishnu.

335-6, have never been discussed by those who have tried to prove Christian influence on the Śvetadvīpa story. They prove clearly an early conception (long before any possibility of Christian influence) of a wonderful and mysterious god-land in the far north. The earlier way of reaching it, as is apparent from the description of Indra's city Amaravatī, was through sacrifices and penances. These gradually gave way to the developing *bhakti* ideals. This god-land was located farther and farther away in the north beyond the bounds of the world of reality. All the Mbh. 12. 335-6 did was to name Nārāyaṇa definitely as the supreme god, and to connect with him the *bhakti* ideas.

Moreover, there are Buddhist accounts of a wonderful lake Anavatapta located in the far north.⁸³ It could be reached only by those who had supernatural powers, the faculty of transporting themselves at will by magic. Here Buddha and the Buddhist saints were wont to transport themselves from India, through the air, in the twinkling of an eye, just as in the Hindu stories the great sages transported themselves through the air to Śvetadvīpa to see Vishnu. There burned incense⁸⁴ which released all the world from the consequences of sin. There too was a goodly palace, and all about were strange trees and flowers, through which breathed fragrant airs, and birds with plaintive songs made harmony. The Buddhist descriptions of Sukhāvātī also, I suspect, fall into this same category. Should not these passages which describe a purely mythical god-land in the north be taken into account by those who argue for Christian influence on the Śvetadvīpa story?

Whence came the conception of a Milk Ocean in the north is not certain. What is its relation to the Milk Ocean in the east? In the latter case it may be merely metaphorical, based on the color of some actual ocean. In the former case it seems to be entirely mythical. Śākadvīpa and Śvetadvīpa, in spite of the fact that both are connected with a Milk Ocean, seem to be independent in origin. Is the Milk Ocean in the north related in any way to the conception that in Uttarakuru are Kṣīra trees and rivers and lakes of milk?⁸⁵

⁸³ See Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, I. 35.

⁸⁴ Must we regard this too as Christian incense? Surely not.

⁸⁵ See Mbh. 6. 7. 4-5; Vāyu 45. 14, 27; Matsya 113. 71; Mārkaṇḍeya 59. 24-5; Varāha 84 (p. 363, I. 5-6).

The word *dvīpa* at the end of the compound lost its original meaning of 'island,'⁸⁶ for some of the late texts locate a Śveta-dvīpa near Benares or in Gujarat.⁸⁷ That is due merely to the copying of a name which had become stereotyped as the name of a dwelling place of Vishnu.

I cannot agree with Grierson (*IA* 1908. 373) that Mbh. 12. 192. 7-19, which describes a marvellous country north of the Himālayas, shows traces of Christian influence. The passage reads: 'On the northern side of the Himavat, which is sacred and possessed of every good quality, there is a region that is sacred, blessed, and highly desirable. That region is called the other world (*paro lokah*). The men who inhabit that region are righteous in act, pious, of pure hearts, free from greed and infatuation, and not subject to afflictions of any kind. That region is like unto heaven. Death comes there at the proper season. Diseases never touch the inhabitants. Nobody cherishes any desire for the wives of others. Everyone is devoted to his own wife. These people do not kill one another, or covet the property of others. There no sin occurs, no doubt arises. There the fruits of religious acts are visible. There some enjoy seats and drinks and food, and live within palaces and mansions. Some are adorned with golden ornaments, and are surrounded by every article of enjoyment. There are some who eat very abstemiously, merely for the sake of keeping body and soul together. Some, with great toil, seek to restrain the life-breaths.—The northern region of the earth is highly auspicious and sacred. Those belonging to this region (that we inhabit) who are doers of righteousness are reborn in that region.' This, in essentials, agrees with the descriptions of the inhabitants of Uttarakuru. Does not this passage too fall into the same category as the passages just quoted which describe a wonderful god-land in the north?

Mbh. 12. 335-6 (and the following chapters) may be comparatively late, but the only reason for ascribing them to as late a

⁸⁶ See Mārkaṇḍeya (trans. Pargiter), p. 364, note, for *dvīpa* as equivalent to 'doab,' the land between two rivers; and Hopkins *JAOS* 1910. 371 note.

⁸⁷ *Sambhalagrāmamāhātmya* (chapter 5) of the Skanda (Mitra, *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, 5. 60; Wilford, *Asiatic Researches* 11. 88; Aufrecht, *Cat. Ozon.* 73b. 12); Nagarakhaṇḍa of the Skanda (Wilford, *Asiatic Researches*, 11. 87); Kāśikhāṇḍa of the Skanda (Aufrecht, *Cat. Ozon.* 71a. 13; Wilford, *Asiatic Researches*, 11. 88).

date as 600 A. D.⁸⁸ is the desire of bringing them into connection with Christian communities in Central Asia.

What are the elements in the description of Śvetadvīpa in Mbh. 12. 335-6 which have led so many to argue for Christian influence? In Mbh. 12. 334. 8-9, 18 it is related that the one original form of Nārāyaṇa took birth in the quadruple form of Nara, Nārāyaṇa, Hari, and Krishna. The first two took up their abode in the hermitage of Badarī, and practised penances there.^{88a} They were still there when Nārada came to visit them. Hari and Krishna also formerly dwelt there, but they were no longer there at the time of Nārada's visit. After a conversation with Nārāyaṇa, Nārada (12. 335. 2) declared his intention of going to see the original form of Nārāyaṇa. Possessed as he was of great *yoga*-powers he soared into the sky and reached the summit of Meru. As he rested there he cast his eyes towards the north-west and beheld in the Milk Ocean the great island Śvetadvīpa, more than 32,000 yojanas distant from Meru. The inhabitants of Śvetadvīpa are then described as follows: 1. They have no senses. 2. They live without taking food of any kind. 3. Their eyes are winkless. 4. They always emit excellent perfumes. 5. Their complexions are white. 6. They are cleansed from every sin. 7. They blast the eyes of those sinners who look at them. 8. Their bones and bodies are as hard as diamonds.^{88b} 9. They are beyond good and evil; they regard *dharma* and *adharma* in the same light. 10. They look as though they were of celestial origin. 11. All of them have auspicious marks and are possessed of great strength. 12. Their heads seem to be like umbrellas. 13. Their voices are deep like the thunder of the clouds. 14. Each of them has four symmetrical (*sama*) *muṣkas*. 15. The soles of their feet are marked by hundreds of lines. 16. They have six white teeth (*danta*) and eight large teeth (*daṁṣṭra*). 17. They have many tongues with which they seem to lick the sun.—Then is given the story of the king Uparicāra and the seven sages. The sages, after they had performed long penances, and after they had worshipped Nārāyaṇa, composed a religious treatise 'consistent with the four Vedas.' To them

⁸⁸ Garbe, *Indien und das Christentum*, p. 192.

^{88a} Compare *śakaṭe kanakāmaye* of 12. 334. 10 with the same words of 6. 8. 15.

^{88b} *Vajra* may refer to the 'thunder-bolt.'

Nārāyaṇa then said: 'Excellent is this treatise that ye have composed consisting of a hundred thousand verses.—In complete accordance with the four Vedas—this treatise of yours will be an authority in all the worlds as regards both Pravṛtti and Nivṛtti.' There is not a trace of Christian influence in the whole chapter. The inhabitants of Śvetadvīpa belong to the type of the Hindu emancipated saint, plunged in contemplation, the senses withdrawn from worldly things, subsisting on little or (theoretically) no food. One of the five common marks by which the gods may be recognized is that their eyes are winkless. Fragrant perfumes are characteristic of the gods and of god-men. A bright light radiates from the saint. Auspicious marks on body and limbs are characteristic of the gods and great saints. The significance of the umbrella-shaped heads, and of the teeth and '*damṣṭra*' is doubtful. The word *muṣka* regularly means 'testicle.' Nilakaṇṭha on 12. 335. 11 gives for *muṣka* the optional interpretation 'arm,' but as yet there seems to be no other authority for that meaning.⁸⁹ However, in what may be a reflection of this passage in Kathāsaritsāgara 115. 102 it is said: 'When Brahmā and Indra and Bṛhaspati had deliberated together to this effect, they ascended a chariot of swans and went to Śvetadvīpa, where all the inhabitants carried the conch, discus, lotus, and club, and had four arms, being assimilated to Vishnu in appearance as they were devoted to him in heart.' Kennedy (*JRAS* 1907. 482) believes that 12. 335 is later than 12. 336; probably because of the fact that in 12. 336 it is clearly implied that the *bhakti* teachings in all their perfection were not yet known to India, whereas in chapter 335 the composition, in India, of a treatise dealing with *bhakti* is described. Against this conclusion it may be urged that if Christian influence be involved it ought to be traceable more clearly in the later passage 12. 335 than in the earlier passage 12. 336. If there was but one journey to Central Asia to the home of Christian *bhakti* it seems impossible to explain the far reaching influence of *bhakti*

⁸⁹ Telang, in a note to 12. 336. 11 (in Roy's translation), seems inclined to follow Nilakaṇṭha in taking the word in the sense of 'arm.' In the parallel passage 12. 343. 36 the Calcutta edition reads *aṣṭabhujau* in the place of *aṣṭadamṣṭrau*. Roy translates 'four arms,' and Telang remarks that if we accept the reading of the Calcutta edition the word *muṣka* becomes clear. I fail to see the logic of this remark or of Roy's translation.

from the confused accounts of the first and only travellers. If there was further communication with the supposed Christian communities of Central Asia, and if the *bhakti* movement in India received any vital help from such communication, the later passages ought to show a deeper and deeper knowledge of Christianity, instead of becoming more and more mythical in their description of the Christian inhabitants of Śvetadvīpa. If the journey (or journeys) was a real one to Central Asia, why are the voyagers always the purely mythical sages Nārada, and Ekata, Dvita, and Trita? The very names argue strongly against the historicity of the journey. The only element in 12. 335 which can possibly be used to argue Christian influence is the whiteness of complexion of the inhabitants of Śvetadvīpa. But always in India things connected with Vishnu, and with the gods in general, are described as bright, light, white. Whiteness of complexion, in the light of the passages given below, is no proof of Christian influence.⁹⁰ The whiteness of the complexion of its inhabitants was surely not the point of departure for the name Śvetadvīpa. The whole description merely implies that the people of Śvetadvīpa were god-like, and the type of god is distinctively an Indian one.⁹¹

Mbh. 12. 336 relates how the sages Ekata, Dvita, and Trita had performed penances for thousands of years in the country north of Meru, on the shores of the ocean, for the purpose of beholding

⁹⁰ Mbh. 6. 8. 12-14 describes the inhabitants of Airāvata as having the color and fragrance of the lotus, as winkless, as taking no food, as completely self-controlled, as having descended from the land of the celestials, as sinless. Mbh. 6. 7. 16 describes the inhabitants of Bhadrāśva as white; 6. 12. 16, 23 describes the inhabitants of Kuśadvīpa as white; 6. 11. 22 states that there are white men and black men in all the *dvīpas*. Vāyu 43. 7 locates white men in Bhadrāśva east of Meru. Vāyu 49. 55, 68 describes the inhabitants of Kuśadvīpa and of Krauñcadvīpa as *gauraprāyah*. The statement of Mbh. 12. 348. 85 that the Ekānta doctrine is followed by 'the Whites and by Yatis' is not sufficient to prove that the 'Whites' were any historical people of Central Asia, even though the interpretation of the commentator *gr̥hasthādīnām yatinām kṣāyadhārinām* is very unlikely. The Br̥hatsamhitā 14. 7 locates the Gauras, 'Whites,' in the east.

⁹¹ In the Buddhist descriptions of Sukhāvatī in the Sukhāvatīvyūha (trans. SBE 49) the inhabitants of that blessed land are said to be like the gods, to have bodies as strong as diamonds, to emit excellent perfumes, to need no food, to be sinless, and absolutely truthful, to bear on their hands and feet all sorts of auspicious marks, to be purified from all sin.

the real form of Nārāyaṇa. A voice from heaven told them that on the northern shores of the Milk Ocean was Śvetadvīpa. 'The men who inhabit that island have complexions as white as the rays of the moon and are devoted to Nārāyaṇa. Worshipers of that best of all Beings, they are devoted to him with their whole souls. They all enter into that eternal and illustrious deity of a thousand rays. They are divested of senses. They eat no food. Their eyes are winkless. Their bodies always give forth a fragrance. The inhabitants of Śvetadvīpa believe and worship only one god. Go thither, ye ascetics, for there I have revealed myself.' They went, but arrived there they could see nothing; they were blinded by the energy of the great deity. To acquire greater holiness they performed penances for a hundred years. Then they beheld men who were white in color like the moon, and possessed of every mark of blessedness. 'Their hands were always joined in prayer. The faces of some were turned toward the north, and of some toward the east. They were engaged in silently thinking upon Brahman. The *japa* performed by these high-souled persons was a mental *japa*. Hari became highly pleased with them since their hearts were entirely set upon him. The effulgence which was emitted by each of these men resembled the splendor which the sun assumes when the time comes for the dissolution of the universe.—All the inhabitants were perfectly equal in energy. There was no superiority or inferiority among them.' Suddenly the pilgrims beheld a light like the concentrated effulgence of a thousand suns. The people all ran towards the light, their hands joined in a reverential attitude, full of joy, uttering the one word *namas* (we bow to Thee). The pilgrims then heard a loud cry uttered by the people as though they were occupied in offering a sacrifice to the great God, but they themselves were deprived of their senses by his energy, so that they could not see or feel anything. They heard only the words: 'Victory to thee, O thou of eyes like lotus-petals! Salutations to thee, O creator of the universe! Salutations to thee, O Hṛṣīkeśa, O foremost of beings, thou who art the first-born!' A breeze wafted the fragrance of celestial flowers. 'Without doubt Hari appeared in that place whence the sound arose. As regards ourselves, stupified by his illusion, we could not see him.' The thousands of men did not honor the pilgrims by a glance or a nod. Then a voice was heard saying:

‘These white men who are divested of all outer senses are able to behold Nārāyaṇa. Only those who are looked upon by these white men are able to behold the great God. Go hence, ye *munis*, to the place whence ye have come. That great deity is not able to be seen by one who is destitute of devotion.’ He could be seen only by those who through long ages have devoted themselves wholly to him. They are told that they had a great duty to perform in spreading the true religion during the coming Treta age. Commenting on this passage Grierson (*JRAS* 1907. 316) says: ‘Is not this just the account that would be given by a devoutly-disposed stranger of the gorgeous ceremonies of some of the ancient Eastern Christian congregations?—the universal equality; the proclamation of monotheism; the necessity of purity for seeing God; the great church into which God, visible only to the eyes of faith, Himself descended; the adoration of the First-born; the silent prayer; the bursting forth of the loud *Gloria in excelsis*; the melodious chant of the eucharistic ritual.—The pilgrims tell the story of a state of affairs existing outside of India, and for which India was not yet ripe. It was here, they were told, that perfect *bhakti* existed, and from here it must be brought to India. It came.’ Not a word of exact description of any great church buildings in Central Asia; not a word of exact description of the alleged gorgeous Christian ceremonies in Central Asia at this period. The equality of the worshippers is no sign of Christian influence. Equality, actual or theoretical, was not unknown to early Buddhism and to other Indian sects. There are no castes in heaven.⁹² None of the other elements in the description are any more characteristic of Christianity than they are of Hinduism. The beginnings of *bhakti* go far back into the pre-Christian period, long before there can be any question of Christian influence.⁹³ If the ideals expressed in these passages were entirely new in India, if they bore any marked

⁹² Compare Vāyu 33. 49 for a description of life in Kimpurusa and the seven other varṣas, omitting the Bhāratavarṣa: *dharmādharmau na tesv āstām nottamādhamamādhyamāh*. Mbh. 12. 188. 10 states that originally there existed only one caste, the Brahman. Differences arose through men’s works. Going to Nārāyaṇa’s abode naturally implied a return to this original perfect state where there was no caste or inequality.

⁹³ Grierson’s statement (*JRAS* 1907. 313): ‘Suddenly, like a flash of lightning, there came upon all this darkness a new idea’ has been later much modified in his article *Bhaktimārga* in *ERE*. See the evidence collected by

resemblance to any specifically Christian points of doctrine, if they were not imbedded in a mass of stereotyped Indian mythology, we might be tempted to press the vague general Christian parallels. Those who argue for Christian influence give us nothing but loose, general similarities such as the older workers in folk-lore thought to be sufficient to prove that one fable had been borrowed from another. On the other hand we have in India in many passages, some of which have been referred to above, the conception of a wonderful, mysterious god-land in the north, inhabited by people who are assimilated in type to the varying conception of the Indian gods. The only names of travellers to this wonder-land are those of old mythical Indian sages. In the light of these mythical elements is it not likely that the mythical elements in the description of Śvetadvīpa are original; that the Mahābhārata in developing the *bhakti* ideas merely made Vishnu sponsor for them and located his abode in the old northern god-land? Even if it could be proved, as has not been done, that Central Asia swarmed with Nestorians in the sixth century A. D., the evidence of the Mahābhārata is not enough to prove that the Hindus knew these Christians or borrowed anything from them.

Mbh. 12. 338 tells again of a journey made by Nārada to Śvetadvīpa. He addressed to Nārāyaṇa a long hymn which is typically Indian, devoid of any distinctively Christian elements. Thereupon Nārāyaṇa revealed himself to Nārada. The description of Vishnu's form is entirely Indian. Nārāyaṇa delivered a discourse on *bhakti*, the background of which is Sāṃkhya and Yoga with all their Indian technicalities. There is not a trace of Christian philosophy or theology.

Mbh. 12. 343 relates that Nārada returned from Śvetadvīpa to the hermitage of Badarī where the sages Nara and Nārāyaṇa were. 'Both of them bore on their chests the mark called the Śrīvatsa, and both had matted locks. The light which radiated from them was greater than the light of the sun. Their palms bore the mark called the swan's foot. The soles of their feet bore the mark of the discus. Their chests were very broad, and their arms reached to their knees. Each of them had four

Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, and Minor Religious Systems*. The theory that the *bhakti* movement in India originated through contact with Christian communities in Central Asia can no longer be maintained. The only question at issue is whether Christian ideas later merged with the *bhakti* stream.

muṣkas. Each of them had sixty teeth (*danta*) and eight *daṁṣṭras*.⁹⁴ Their voices were as deep as the thunder of the clouds. Their faces were handsome; their foreheads broad; their brows, cheeks, and noses were beautiful; their heads were like umbrellas.' As he gazed at them Nārada thought that they seemed to resemble in appearance the men he had seen in Śvetadvīpa. Here too the purely mythical character of the description is apparent.

In the later texts, whether they all copy the twelfth book of the Mahābhārata or whether they draw from a widely diffused belief, it became a commonplace of thought that the real home of Vishnu was in Śvetadvīpa, although there seems to be a tendency to remove Śvetadvīpa still farther away from the world of reality by locating it beyond the Lokāloka mountains.⁹⁵ Still later Śvetadvīpa was brought into connection with Rāma.⁹⁶ The Pātālakhanda of the Padma (according to Wilford)⁹⁷ describes Śvetadvīpa as the home of a subordinate form of Vishnu; his real home is in Mahārajatabhūmi beyond the Lokāloka mountains in Nārāyaṇapura which is as resplendent as 100,000 suns. The Kūrma 49 (p. 420 ff.) gives a long account of Śvetadvīpa and the devotion of its inhabitants to Vishnu. The Uttarakhaṇḍa of the Padma (257. 44, 120-55) has a long description of Vishnu's dwelling in Śvetadvīpa on the northern shores of the Toyābdi.⁹⁸ The Utkalakhanda of the Skanda⁹⁹ describes how the Vāta tree of Śvetadvīpa is a single hair of Vishnu which fell to the ground, and relates how it was miraculously transported to Utkala. The Sahyādrīkhanda of the Skanda¹⁰⁰ locates the abode of Hari north of the Milk Ocean. The Prakṛtikhaṇḍa of the Brahma-

⁹⁴ The Calcutta edition reads *aṣṭabhujau*.

⁹⁵ In the following paragraph the references from Wilford are given for what they are worth. Each reference needs to be carefully verified before it can be used with any confidence.

⁹⁶ See Weber, 'Die Rāma-Tāpanīya-Upanishad,' *Abhandlungen Berl. Akad.* 1864. 277-8.

⁹⁷ *Asiatic Researches*, 11. 100-3. The passage does not seem to be in the Ānandāśrama edition or in the manuscripts described by Wilson, *Works*, 3. 45-53 or by Aufrecht, *Cat. Oxon.* p. 13, or by Mitra, *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, 3. 262 ff.

⁹⁸ Cf. Wilson, *Works*, 3. 58 and Wilford, *Asiatic Researches*, 11. 99.

⁹⁹ Wilford, *ibid.* 149-51.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Wilford, *op. cit.*, 10. 67-8; Mitra, *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, 5. 53.

vaivarta¹⁰¹ has a *Śvetadvīpād viṣṇor āgamanādīkathanam*. The Kṛṣṇajānma-khaṇḍa of the Brahmapaivarta¹⁰² is full of references to Śvetadvīpa. The Gaṇeśa Purāṇa¹⁰³ locates one paradise of that god, who is identified with Vishnu, in Śvetadvīpa, another in the Ikṣu ocean, and connects Rāma and the dwarf avatar with Śvetadvīpa. The Vishnu-dharmottara¹⁰⁴ and the Gargā-cāryasaṃhitā^{104a} call Vishnu *Śvetadvīpādhipa*. The Rājatarāṅginī 3. 471 and 8. 2435 refers to Śvetadvīpa as a place of deliverance.¹⁰⁵ The Varāha 2. 63 and 66. 3 relates journeys of Nārada to Śvetadvīpa,¹⁰⁶ and 138. 93 declares that the good go to Śvetadvīpa as a place of everlasting happiness.¹⁰⁷

Going back to the tradition of the Bhaviṣya¹⁰⁸ is the idea that certain Brahmins named Magas, the so-called Śākadvīpiya Brahmins, came from Śākadvīpa to India. The reference clearly is to the coming of the Zoroastrian sun-worshippers from Persia to India. Maga has been taken as the Mahābhārata reading for the name of the Brahman caste of Śākadvīpa, and Śākadvīpa has, apparently, been brought into connection with the Śakas. All the texts, however, which relate to these Śākadvīpiya Brahmins are too late to have any bearing on the problem of the origin of the name, or on the problem of the original location of Śākadvīpa.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰¹ Mitra, *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, 3. 232.

¹⁰² See 3. 90; 4. 67, 70; 6. 146-8; 6. 253; 9. 13; 13. 49, 57; 94. 89; 124. 89; 127. 63; 129. 12. Cf. Wilson, *Works*, 3. 118; Wilford, *op. cit.* 11. 55, 92. A cursory inspection of the text did not reveal the passages described by Wilford.

¹⁰³ Wilford, *op. cit.*, 10. 36-7 and 11. 93-4.

¹⁰⁴ Weber, *Verzeichniss Berlin*, 2. 340 note.

^{104a} Weber, *ibid.*, 2. 121.

¹⁰⁵ See the note of Stein to the latter passage: 'creates the illusion of a śvetadvīpa (produced) for removing the transitoriness of human beings.'

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Wilford, *op. cit.*, 11. 120-1.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Aufrecht, *Cat. Oxon.* 60a. For further references to Śvetadvīpa see Śaṇḍilya Bhakti Sūtras 79 (cf. Weber, 'Die Rāma-Tāpaniya-Upanishad,' *Abhandlungen Berl. Akad.* 1864. 278 note and *ibid.* 1867. 321); Vratārka as described by Weber, *ibid.* 1867. 253; Nārada-pañcarātra referred to by Weber, *ibid.* 1864. 277-8 and 1867. 321; Rāmapūjācaraṇi discussed by Weber, *ibid.* 1864. 277-8, 324 note.

¹⁰⁸ See Wilson, *The Vishnu Purana*, 5. 381-5; Aufrecht, *Cat. Oxon.* 33a; Mitra, *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, 5. 35; Wilford, *Asiatic Researches*, 11. 67-74.

¹⁰⁹ See Weber, 'Über die Magavyakti,' *Monatsberichte Berl. Akad.* 1879. 446 ff.; 'Über zwei Parteischriften zu Gunsten der Maga resp. Śākadvīpiya

The Kathāsaritsāgara mentions Śvetadvīpa briefly in several passages:¹¹⁰ 17. 8 'Vishnu, who knoweth all, dwelling in the Milk Ocean, gave the following command to Nārada, an excellent hermit, who came to visit him'; 63. 54 'There is a region in the south of the Himālaya, called Kashmir—where Śiva and Vishnu, as self-existent deities, inhabit a hundred shrines, forgetting their happy homes in Kailāsa and Śvetadvīpa'; 67. 96 'When the ṛṣi Mātāṅga had said this, he performed the ceremony of bathing and other ceremonies, and went to Śvetadvīpa through the air to visit the shrine of Vishnu'; 101. 259 'Then the hermit Mātāṅga . . . said to that prince, "My son, I must today go for a certain affair to Śvetadvīpa" '; 115. 101 'When Brahmā, Indra, and Bṛhaspati had deliberated together to this effect, they ascended a chariot of swans, and went to Śvetadvīpa; where all the inhabitants carried the conch, discus, lotus, and club, and had four arms, being assimilated to Vishnu in appearance as they were devoted to him in heart.' There they saw the god in a palace composed of splendid jewels, reposing on the serpent Śeṣa, having his feet adored by Lakṣmī; 120. 67 'Surely his glory furnished the Disposer with the material out of which he built up the White Island, the Sea of Milk, Mount Kailāsa, and the Himālayas.' Chapter 54 contains a long story about a visit made to Vishnu in Śvetadvīpa. In the Bṛhatkathāmañjarī this is reflected only in the few verses, 15. 195-201. It is lacking in the Bṛhatkathāślokaśaṅgraha, at least in the fragment known at present. Naravāhana-datta, on a hunting expedition, came to a beautiful lake where he saw four men, of heavenly appearance, dressed in heavenly garments, adorned with heavenly jewels, engaged in picking golden lotuses. They told him that there was in the midst of the sea a great island named Nārikela.¹¹¹ There they lived on four

Brahmaṇa,' *ibid.* 1880. 27 ff.; 'Über den Pārasīprakāśa,' *Abhandlungen Berl. Akad.* 1887. 12 ff.; *Indische Studien*, 2. 398; *Indische Skizzen*, pp. 104-5, 109; Sarda (on the Śākadvīpīya Brahmins of Ajmere) *IA* 1912. 183; Colebrooke, *Essays*, 2. 179; Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, 1. 158 and 2. 138; Crooke, *Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, 4. 260-3; Wilson, *The Vishnu Purana*, 5. 381-5.

¹¹⁰ Hopkins' statement (*JAOS* 1910. 372) that Śvetadvīpa is referred to only in the Mahābhārata, the Harivaṃśa, and the Purāṇas needs modification.

¹¹¹ Cf. 56. 54-6. Identified by Tawney (1. 525 note), and by Lacôte, *Gunādhya et la Bṛhatkathā*, p. 95, with Ceylon; by Gerini, *Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia*, p. 807, with the Nicobars; by

mountains named Maināka, Vṛṣabha, Cakra, and Balāhaka.¹¹² They were gathering the lotuses in order to present them to the god, the husband of Śrī, in Śvetadvīpa. 'For we are all of us devoted to him, and it is by his favor that we possess rule over these mountains of ours, and prosperity accompanied with supernatural power.' They carried him with them through the air to Śvetadvīpa. He praised Vishnu with a hymn (a Nārāyaṇastuti) and was well received by the god, who dispatched Nārada to Indra to demand back four of his Apsarasas, which he then bestowed on Naravāhanadatta.¹¹³ Naravāhanadatta and his four companions returned to Nārikela with the four heavenly maidens. After spending four days on the wonderful mountains of Nārikela sporting with the Apsarasas, Naravāhanadatta

Wilford, *Asiatic Researches*, 10. 150 with Sumatra. Ceylon cannot be correct. The Brhatsamhitā (14. 9) of Varāhamihira locates Nārikela in the southeast, but locates Ceylon (14. 11) in the south, thereby clearly distinguishing them. Yogavāsiṣṭha 6 (Uttarārḍha). 123. 14 locates the country of the coconuts in the east. See also Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, 2. 236 and Mārkaṇḍeya 58. 17. [Laufer has given me the following note: 'The Nārikeladvīpa of Huan Tsang (Julien, *Mémoires*, 2. 144) has been identified with the Nicobars by H. Yule, *Marco Polo*, 2. 307 and *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. Nicobar. Ibn Sa'id (thirteenth century) mentions Coconut Islands as a group of numerous islands which form part of the government of Sirandīb (Ceylon). Cf. Ferrand, *Textes relatifs à l'Extrême-Orient*, p. 339. The name Necuveran or Necouran in *Marco Polo* is perhaps corrupted from Nārikela, but this is doubtful. On the other hand we must not lose sight of the fact that Huan Tsang's data are legendary, and that he locates the Coconut Islands several thousand li south of Ceylon. There is no island south of Ceylon; the Nicobars are only four days' journey east of Ceylon.']

¹¹² Mbh. 6. 12. 18 locates Maināka in Krauñcadvīpa; 3. 89. 11 locates it in the west. Maināga first occurs in Taittirīya Aranyaka 1. 31. 2. For Maināka in the north see Hopkins *JAOS* 1910. 359, 365 and *Epic Mythology*, p. 9. See also the note of Pargiter to Mārkaṇḍeya 57. 13. Vishnu 2. 4. 26; Vāyu 49. 34; Matsya 122. 55; Kūrma 49 (p. 416, 1. 16) locate Balāhaka in Śālmalīdvīpa or Kuśadvīpa. Cf. Lacôte, *Gunādhyā et la Brhatkathā*, pp. 139-40. Matsya 121. 72 gives the four names together as mountains in Jambudvīpa. Vāyu 47. 75 has: *vakro (cakro?) balāhakaś caiva mainākaś caiva parvatāḥ āyatās te mahāśailāḥ samudram dakṣiṇam prati* and 47. 72 refers to Vṛṣabha. Harivaṃśa 220 (2. 371) locates Vṛṣabha and Maināka in the south. Is the eastern mountain Vṛṣabha of Mbh. 5. 112. 22 and 5. 113. 1 the same?

¹¹³ Compare Kathāsaritsāgara 17. 10, where Vishnu, in like manner, sends Nārada to Indra to get back the Apsaras Urvaśī for Purūravas.

returned to his own city. Lacôte argues that the *Bṛhatkathā* and *Mbh.* 12. 335-6 made use of a common source, a story which contained a description of a journey to Christian communities in Central Asia.¹¹⁴ The *Bṛhatkathā* omitted the description of the people and the religious elements, and added the four *Apsarasas*. I can see nothing at all in favor of such a conclusion. The only points of similarity between the two stories are that the journey is to *Śvetadvīpa*, and that both contain a *Nārāyaṇastuti*. In the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* (15. 195-201) the *Nārāyaṇastuti* is very brief. In the *Bṛhatkathāślokaśaṃgraha* there are several *Nārāyaṇastutis* (cf. Lacôte, pp. 172, 177, 212) given in altogether different contexts, not connected with a journey to *Śvetadvīpa*. The only resemblance between the hymns is that they are hymns to Vishnu. There are no specific details which could lead one to believe that they are based on a common source, a hymn marked by Christian influence. They differ in no respect from the many hymns scattered through the *Epic* and the *Purāṇas*; they are Indian in every detail.¹¹⁵ If the travellers did not understand anything of what they saw and gave an account which could be reflected in the form represented by this story of the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, there is no possibility that the description could have had any vital influence on the *bhakti* movement represented by the passages of the *Mahābhārata*. Lacôte also argues (p. 95) that *Śvetadvīpa* must be far away from *Nārikela*, in the north, because Vishnu has 'pour ainsi dire, sous la main, les quatre apsaras qu'il offre à Naravāhanadatta'

¹¹⁴ *Guṇādhya et la Bṛhatkathā*, pp. 92-6, 229, and *Mélanges Sylvain Lévi*, p. 270. 'La source première est un récit—littérairement arrangé déjà—de voyageurs qui ont assisté au sacrifice dans une communauté chrétienne du Nord-Ouest, sans y rien comprendre; puisque la date peut très bien remonter au début du III^e siècle, rien n'empêche d'admettre que Guṇādhya, curieux de voyages extraordinaires, ait utilisé un récit contemporain, que devaient reprendre plus tard les compilateurs du *Mahābhārata*. Je crois seulement que, dans la *Bṛhatkathā*, l'élimination de toutes les remarques sur l'état social et la culte des sectateurs du Visnu de l'Ile-Blanche est le fait des remanieurs, de même que l'invention des quatre apsaras données en présent à Naravāhanadatta.'

¹¹⁵ Compare especially the hymn given in *Harivaṃśa* 257 (2. 494) and the following passage: 'Les yogins, disciples de Capila, savants dans le *Sāṅkhya*, et qui veulent arriver au salut, par le moyen de cet hymne, se purifient de leurs fautes et parviennent dans le *Śvetadvīpa*.'

and because Naravāhanadatta on his journey from Nārikela to Śvetadvīpa passes the city of Kauśāmbī. So far as I can see the text nowhere states that the latter was the case. Meru is a favorite abode of Indra, but Indra presides over the east and his city Amaravatī is situated in the east. To those who possess the supernatural power of travelling through the air near and far have no meaning. Kern (note to Brhatkathā 14. 7) thinks that Śvetadvīpa is near Nārikela, and argues that the Gauras, 'white men,' of 14. 7 are the inhabitants of Śvetadvīpa. This too is mere conjecture, based on no more tangible evidence than is Lacôte's conjecture. There is no evidence in the passage to prove where Śvetadvīpa was situated. If anything is to be inferred from this passage, considering the Apsarasas and the entire lack of religious *bhakti* elements, it is that the mythical elements are original in the Śvetadvīpa stories. The two Śvetadvīpas differ *toto caelo*. It is most unlikely that the Brhatkathā made use of a travellers' tale which described a journey to Christian communities in Central Asia. If the account of such a journey gave much space to religious elements it is difficult to explain the form it took in the Brhatkathā; if the travellers did not understand anything of what they saw it is difficult to explain the wide influence of the supposed Christian *bhakti* elements. If we assume that the underlying elements are mythical the relation of the two narratives becomes clear and natural.

The Kathāsaritsāgara (48. 77) knows Ketumāla but does not know the names of any of the Puranic *dvīpas*. Its geography represents an early stage comparable to that of the Rāmāyana and the Jātakas.

A collection and index of the extra-Indian geographical names from the Mahābhārata, the Rāmāyaṇa, the Harivaṃśa, the Purāṇas, the Buddhist and Jain texts, and other early treatises would be sure to lead to valuable conclusions.

[Since the above article was handed in during the summer of 1918 Sylvain Lévi has discussed Rāmāyaṇa 4. 40 and Jātaka 463 in a long article published in the *Journal asiatique* 1918. 1. ff. Much new material is given from Chinese Buddhist texts. See also Vidyābhūṣaṇa (*JASB* 1902. 150 ff.) for an effort to identify *Maga* with the *Magoi* of Ptolemy, *Mrga* with *Margiana*, *Maśaka* with the *Maisoka* of Hyrkania, and to locate the Uttarakurns in Eastern Turkestan.]

THE HOME OF THE SEMITES

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ACCORDING TO THE PREVALENT VIEW the home of the Semites is Arabia, which has been like a seething caldron, boiling over at intervals and emitting its surplus population in successive eruptions, poured out as the lid was forced up. This theory, which has been worked out with beautiful symmetry, is represented in almost all the histories of Hither Asia of the last quarter or even half century, and I have myself presented it as established fact in my writings. Indeed it seemed to me that additional incidental evidence for this theory was found in the fact that as the successive waves of invasion poured northward the invaders displayed a linguistic connection with those ahead as well as with those behind. So inscriptions found in northern Syria seemed to show that the Aramaeans in the forefront of the great Aramaean wave of invasion adopted in part the language of the preceding Semitic emigrants, while the Hebrews, Moabites, and kindred peoples, Aramaean¹ in race, spoke a language practically identical with that of the Canaanites. Similarly, while the Nabataeans were Arabs, their language was a variant of the Aramaean of the preceding wave of emigration.

The first Semitic eruption from Arabia, according to the prevalent view, took place in the fourth millennium B. C., resulting in the establishment of the Babylonian-Semites on the east, and of the Semitic peoples in northern Syria on the west; the wave of emigration from Arabia, divided by the desert, pouring up on both east and west. Somewhere toward the middle of the third millennium B. C. came another wave of invasion, which occupied Canaan, and strengthened and modified the Semitic element in Babylonia. A thousand years later came the Aramaeans, occupying Palestine, east and west of the Jordan, in the four nationalities of Hebrews, Ammonites, Moabites, and Edomites,

¹ Of course, if they came from the north, as I now believe, this argument reversed would be equally as effective.

pushing northward over Syria, homing in Mesopotamia, and drifting into Babylonia; becoming ultimately, so far as language and culture were concerned, the dominant element from the Persian mountains to the Mediterranean, extending northward to the Taurus mountains, and even pressing into Asia Minor at points.

About a thousand years after came a new invasion, beginning with the Nabataeans, who were followed by the Lakhmids on the east and the Ghassanids on the west, this Arabian movement culminating over a thousand years later, in the 7th Christian century, in the great Mohammedan eruption of Arabs, which conquered and ruled Asia, south of the Taurus mountains, to and into India, all Egypt and northern Africa, with the Iberian peninsula in Europe, and occupied linguistically Hither Asia south of the Taurus, with points projecting here and there into Asia Minor itself. Since that date there has been no great eruption from Arabia, but there have been migrations northward of Arabic tribes, resulting not in permanent settlement, but in the occupation of parts of Mesopotamia, Syria and Babylonia by nomadic populations.

It has been argued as a general proposition that it is the nomadic peoples who migrate and overrun civilized lands; and Central Asia and Arabia have been regarded as the typical nomadic regions from which from time immemorial peoples have migrated in every direction. In connection with this theory it has been supposed that the nomadic populations of Central Asia and Arabia have been pushed out from the territories occupied by them because of overcrowding, that the homeland provided too scant support for the increasing number of men and flocks and herds. There has been a tendency to assume also that all folk migrations are simply economic in cause and character. Now overcrowding takes place as readily, perhaps more readily, in settled regions than in nomadic. Undoubtedly nomadic peoples have a natural tendency to migrate, but when we come to consider the great folk movements of which we have knowledge it is plain that the peoples who have taken part in many of them are in no sense nomadic. Also migrations as we know them are by no means always due to economic causes. So, the lust of conquest, while it has, it is true, an economic side, we should scarcely count as an economic cause. That is to say, peoples who,

actuated by the lust of conquest, overrun and conquer neighboring countries, do not necessarily do so because their own homes have proved too narrow. They desire to seize what some one else possesses, but they are not compelled to leave their own homes because of any need of space or sustenance. We have a record of almost perpetual movements in Asia Minor, in and out, and those whose causes we can trace are due in many cases to the lust of conquest. Very few are nomadic in any sense, that is invasions of nomadic people. The people whom we know as invaders of Asia Minor from the earliest times were generally in a state of civilization far above the nomadic. The same is true of European invasions and folk movements. There the pressure has been in the latter ages generally from the east towards the west, but there seems to be evidence that at an earlier period there were great movements from the west eastward. As late as the third century B. C., we find Gauls migrating eastward and descending into Asia Minor, and during and since the Middle Ages Germans have been pushing eastward into Slavic lands. Many migrations and folk movements have been due to the lust of conquest; some originate in the spirit of adventure or enterprise. Religion too has played its part in migration. This is strikingly true of the great Mohammedan invasions. It is true of the movements of the European peoples into Eastern Europe and Asia in the Crusaders' time. It is true to some extent of the movements of European peoples westward to America and southward into Africa. A desire to escape oppressive conditions, love of freedom, the spirit of nationality,—all these causes have played a part from the most remote time in folk movements. Change of environment produced by natural causes is another motive of migration. Desiccation of a land, or other physical phenomena producing change of climate, may so affect living conditions as to induce the inhabitants to emigrate. It seems probable that such causes were effective in promoting not a few prehistoric and later migrations out of and into Central Asia and Arabia, but we have no historic evidence of this. If a people in a nomadic condition of civilization migrates the migration tends to be in general small, as in the case of nomadic tribes of Indians in this country, or of Turcoman tribes such as we still find migrating in parts of Asia Minor, northern Syria, and Central Asia, or like those migrations of Arabian tribes which are con-

tinually taking place. We do know, it is true, of not a few great invasions of nomadic peoples, but as a rule such invasions do not result in permanent settlements, or the establishment of stable kingdoms. On the other hand, when peoples in a somewhat higher state of civilization, owners of cattle, used to the cultivation of the ground, to life in villages and towns, to some sort of community organization, overrun a richer people of a higher civilization, they more readily establish on the basis of that civilization new states, a new culture, and a new civilization.

Our actual knowledge of migrations out of Arabia shows us, it is true, the establishment by some of the emigrants of fairly stable kingdoms, as in the case of the Nabataeans, the Ghassanids, and the Lakhmids, and later in the case of the great Mohammedan movement. But to what extent were these movements nomadic? Arabia was in part certainly inhabited by peoples living under settled conditions, and the leaders in the Mohammedan movement were men used to a settled and fairly civilized life. The later movements of Bedouin tribes from Arabia have resulted in no stable settlements; they have simply overrun half-occupied territories and continue to roam there as Bedouin. So much for the general theory of the nomadic origin of folk movements.

Let us now examine what evidence we actually possess with regard to the movements of Semitic peoples from the earliest times onward. So far as Semitic migrations are concerned the facts which have gradually accumulated seem to militate against the theory of Semitic migrations from Arabia before the Nabataean movement. According to the Biblical records and traditions the Aramaeans, who were the ancestors of the Hebrew peoples, came from the north. So Israelite tradition claimed Mesopotamia, the country beyond the Euphrates northward, as the ancestral home of Israel. It is true that according to Hebrew legend the Israelites migrated into Palestine from Egypt, but those same legends consistently aver that their ancestors and those of the nations to which they acknowledged the closest kinship, Ammon, Moab and Edom, originally came from the north, namely from Mesopotamia, passing thru Palestine into Egypt, and that their home was not the desert of Arabia, the country southward and southeastward of Palestine, but a country far away in the opposite direction. They do, it is true, acknowledge kinship with the Midianites, various nomadic or semi-nomadic

tribes southward and eastward of Palestine, extending into and beyond the Sinaitic peninsula. Their traditions narrate that for a period, a long generation their tradition makes it, they also themselves inhabited those regions and were nomadic, and that they were in intimate relation, sometimes friendly, sometimes hostile, with these various tribes whom they counted descendants like themselves of the Mesopotamian ancestor. After they became a settled people dwelling in Palestine these nomadic kinsmen eastward and southward of Edom, Moab, and Ammon on the borders of the desert became foes, and we have records of contests with them owing to their forays; but they appear as marauders overrunning and devastating the country when it is weak and disunited, like hordes of locusts, rather than as conquerors taking possession of it for permanent occupation.

The Hebrews, altho speaking a Canaanite language, claim to be alien to the Canaanites, and it is interesting to observe that they not only do not recognize common race ancestry with the latter, but that they even connect the Canaanites in race ancestry with Egypt, as over against their own Semitic forbears. As already stated, their traditions carried the record of their Aramaean ancestry back to Mesopotamia; but the origin of the Aramaeans themselves they referred to a still more remote region. So the prophet Amos, writing in the middle of the 8th century B. C., speaks of the Aramaean homeland as Kir, which is clearly far away to the northeast, as shown by references in other writings. It used to be the fashion to doubt such historical geographical references, but our experience in latter years has taught us more respect for the traditions therein represented, and it has been shown that Amos certainly possessed a very fair fund of information as to historical and geographical facts, as for instance in his statement that the Philistines came from Kaphtor. Moreover Amos' statement seems to find corroboration from other sources.

The Hebrew flood story describes the ark as landing on the mountains of the far north or east, perhaps in the Armenian territory northward of Assyria, or eastward in the Zagros mountains, where the Babylonian ark mountain Nisir was located. From this region Noah's sons, of whom Shem, the ancestor of the Hebrews, was one, went forth to people the earth. To the northeastward, far away in the mountains, then, was the home of the

Semites. And confirming this was the Hebrew story of Eden. In the mountains of the north, where were the mysterious sources of the Tigris and Euphrates, was the original habitat of man. From the annals of Ashur-nazir-pal, a century and more before the time of Amos, we learn that the Aramaeans did at that date occupy the territory to the north and east of Assyria, including Nisir, the mountain of the Babylonian ark. A half a century after Amos, Isaiah mentions the men of Kir as constituting part of the Assyrian army of invasion, naming them with the men of Elam, apparently as coming from the most distant regions of the mountains eastward of the Assyrian empire. In Ashur-bani-pal's inscriptions, half a century later still, Aramaeans are along the edge of the Zagros mountains, eastward of Babylonia, and pushing into that country. Apparently during this period of two centuries and over they are being pushed down along the eastern mountains from a point northward and eastward of Assyria to a point much further south.

Somewhere in the 6th century B. C. we meet the first beginning, according to the Biblical record, of pressure from the south northward. On the return of the Israelites from captivity and the re-establishment of a Judaeen state after the captivity, the Edomites are found occupying the southern portion of what was formerly Judaea, with the important towns of Hebron and Marissa, the Nabataeans from northern Arabia having pushed them out of their old territory southward and southeastward of Judah. Gradually the Nabataeans moved northward, until in the first Christian century the Nabataean kingdom extended from somewhere north of Damascus southward well into Arabia, and from a little east of the Jordan to the Euphrates.

So much we find in the Bible with regard to the movements of Semitic peoples into or about Palestine. From other sources we learn of an Arabian invasion immediately following the Nabataean, resulting in the establishment of the Ghassanid kingdom in the Hauran, west of the Syrian desert, and of the kingdom of the Lakhmids, with Hira as its capital, eastward of the desert, on the borders of Babylonia. Here we have, in point of fact, commencing about the 6th century B. C., a succession of invasions or race movements out of Arabia, dividing at the Syrian desert, advancing northward to east and west of that, and culminating in the great Mohammedan eruption of the 7th century

A. D.; since which time there have been lesser tribal migrations of Bedouin Arabs, like the Anazeh, Shammar, Montefich and others, but at no time any considerable invasion resulting in real conquest or settled occupation of any of the regions northward of Arabia.

After the middle or close of the 8th century B. C. the pressure of actual physical Aramaean invasion from the north, which partly synchronized with, partly followed, a similar Hittite movement, appears to abate, so far as Palestine is concerned, the cause of its abatement being the final conquest of the entire west-land by Assyria. Down to this time, the time of the Assyrian conquest at the close of the 8th century, the Hebrew records represent the Aramaeans as exerting a continual pressure from the north. Later than this we have no evidence from the Bible of the movement southward of conquering Aramaean peoples, but long after the actual physical pressure of conquering invasion ceases the Aramaic language and culture continue to press southward, aramaizing Palestine with all the surrounding regions, until in the beginning of the 7th century of our era the whole country north of the Hejaz and the Persian Gulf speaks some form of Aramaic.

From Babylonian sources the earliest records, beginning about the commencement of the third millennium B. C., show us the southern part of Babylonia occupied by Sumerians. These are closely connected, apparently, with populations to the southeast on the Elamite plain in modern Persia, who used the same script, shared the same civilization, and struggled with the Sumerian Babylonians for a millennium or more for the hegemony. There is evidently a close relation between the southern Babylonian and the Elamite countries and civilizations, and one gets the impression of a pressure outward from Elam rather than inward from Babylonia. Quite early we find Semites settled in northern Babylonia, and pressing southward. These Semites seem to be in touch with Semitic populations northwestward up the Euphrates in Mesopotamia and in Syria. Thruout the 3d millennium the strength of the Semitic element increases, and by its close we find Babylonia dominated by Semites, a strong Semitic state, Assyria, northward on the Tigris, and a Semitic Babylonian culture and civilization extending over all Hither Asia south of the Taurus, and beyond the Taurus into Cappadocia in Asia

Minor. It seems clear that the Semites thru all this period are a northern people who are pressing southward as conquerors and invaders, and at the same time are absorbing and modifying the civilization of the Sumerians on the south. The second millennium reveals a continued pressure of invasions from the north, a considerable portion of which, however, are non-Semitic, originating in Asia Minor, such as the Hittite and Mitannian movements, and perhaps the Cassite invasion. Thruout this period the Semitic state of Assyria was increasing and consolidating its power, apparently enabled to do so by its geographical and strategical position in relation to the Semitic populations. Conquered at times, with considerable ups and downs, it nevertheless not only held its own in the folk movements of that period, but also extended its power southward, so that at the close of the millennium it dominated and controlled all Babylonia. During the latter part of this millennium and the first centuries of the first millennium both Assyrian and Babylonian inscriptions show us the Aramaeans occupying parts of Syria and all of Mesopotamia on the west and pressing southeastward on Babylonia, and also Aramaeans occupying the mountainous regions to the northwest, north and east of Assyria, and pressing into Babylonia from some point or points eastward of the Tigris and northeast and east of Babylonia. Indeed from the inscriptions it would seem as tho the pressure of invading Aramaeans was strongest from this direction.

The annals of Ashur-nazir-pal, in the first half of the 9th century, give us the fullest information with regard to these Aramaean states. Assyria itself in his day was a wedge pushed northward into Aramaean territory. Aramaean states are mentioned in his annals beyond Diarbekir to the northwest (i. e. directly northward of Mesopotamia), in Asia Minor. Immediately to the north of Assyria were the Nairi, Aramaean peoples, who became a bone of contention between Armenians and Assyrians. To the east and southeast also, stretching well into the mountains, were Aramaean states, some of which proved stout opponents of the Assyrian armies. In these Aramaean countries was included, according to Ashur-nazir-pal's records, Mt. Nisir, on which, according to Babylonian story, the ark rested; which may, as pointed out, be regarded as a confirmation of the Biblical record of the home of the Aramaeans. Clearly pressure of

invasion from the north, which resulted later in the establishment of the powerful kingdom of Urardhu, extending from Lake Urumia on the east to Cappadocia on the west, was pushing Aramaeans southward from Cappadocia to the Persian mountains, and it was to stem this movement that some at least of Ashurnazir-pal's campaigns were directed. Assyria itself was able to resist the pressure, but in doing so it pushed the invading hordes to east and west, until it was itself finally surrounded by Aramaean peoples.²

In Armenia itself during the ninth and following centuries the records reveal various movements of populations. There was established the strong native kingdom of Urardhu, already referred to, the inscriptions from which are first in the Assyrian language, later in Alarodian, neither Semitic nor Indo-European, with which Assyria struggles for centuries, finally conquering it, and thus preparing the way, apparently, for the invasion and conquest of the country by the Indo-European Armenians, just as the devastation and conquest of Elam by Ashur-bani-pal prepared the way for the conquest of that country by the Persians, this permanent movement of Indo-European peoples from the east westward being preceded and prepared for by the great invasion of nomadic Scythian hordes toward the close of the 7th century B. C.

In Ashur-bani-pal's time, two centuries and more after Ashurnazir-pal, the Aramaeans, moving downward along the edge of the Persian mountains, had pushed well southward into Babylonia, and their language had become a *lingua franca* from the Mediterranean to the Persian mountains. It is from the records of Ashur-bani-pal's campaigns that we first get a suggestion of the commencement of pressure northward from Arabia, in that he conducts campaigns against Arabian kings or chiefs. Certainly his treatment of the country from the Mediterranean to the Persian mountains, and into Elam, by creating a void, tended to invite invasion from that direction; but it was not

² Olmstead in this JOURNAL, vol. 38, discussing the geography of these campaigns, says that the existence of these states points 'to Aramaic infiltration far within the mountains.' He is obsessed with the old theory of Semitic waves northward from Arabia; his own evidence shows clearly an opposite movement from Asia Minor downward.

until a century later, after the Persian conquest, that we have the first evidence of a movement northward in force out of Arabia, both on the east and the west, the Nabataean movement. Such historical evidence as we possess, from Palestine on the west and Babylonia in the east, would indicate for all the Semitic invasions prior to this a northern, not a southern origin.

Turning to the linguistic evidence, we find a sharp distinction between the north Semitic and the south Semitic language groups, Babylonian-Assyrian, Aramaean-Syrian and Canaanite-Hebrew constituting one group, much more closely related to one another than to the south Semitic languages, that is the north and south Arabian tongues with Ethiopic. These latter constitute a group not so closely allied to one another perhaps as are the languages of the north Semitic group, but nevertheless much more closely allied to one another than to any of the languages of that group. There is a sharp distinction between the two groups, north Semitic and south Semitic, evidence of a long period during which the south Semitic languages and the north Semitic languages developed independently. Clearly the northern and the southern Semites must have been separated one from another as groups, not as individual peoples, at an early period. The prevalent Arabic theory of the home of the Semites, the theory that all these nations, Babylonians, Canaanites, Aramaeans, and Arabs migrated out of Arabia northward in successive waves, gives no room for such separation of the south Semitic and north Semitic groups as the linguistic facts demand. What those facts seem to suggest is that at some early period either a body of Semites wandering southward from the north into Arabia were then cut off for a very long period from the Semites of the north by physical and other obstacles which prevented any practical communication; or that at some very early period a body of Semites wandering out of Arabia northward were then cut off from their southern kinsfolk for a long period. However it took place, the evidence of language seems to show that there was such a separation at a very early date extending over a prolonged period, during which took place the differentiation into different peoples of the northern group—Babylonian-Assyrian, Syrian-Aramaean, Canaanite-Hebrew—and the similar differentiation of the south Semitic group into its various peoples and languages.

Such knowledge of the early history of the Semites as we now possess seems to show that there was in fact such a division between north and south. Until about 2500 B. C. we find the Sumerians in possession of southern Babylonia, and Palestine occupied by a non-Semitic people, partly, if not altogether, troglodytic and at a relatively low level of civilization. At that time the records show that Semites inhabited northern Babylonia and stretched northwestward up the Euphrates into Syria. The indications are that Aleppo was a center of the civilized region occupied by Semites, and perhaps that civilization extended southward as far as Damascus. We are not able to say certainly that Semites inhabited Assyria at that time, or the regions northward of it. The Assyrian kingdom had not yet come into existence. Neither are we able to say from the records that Semites extended northward beyond the Taurus into Asia Minor. Before 2500 B. C. there is evidence of a barrier between the Semites of the south, who from Egyptian sources we have every reason to believe occupied Arabia, and the Semites of the north. In the center, northward of Arabia, lay a desert region. On both sides of that desert region, in southern Babylonia and southern Palestine, were territories occupied by non-Semitic peoples, the highly civilized and developed Sumerians in southern Babylonia, a non-Semitic and uncivilized or semi-civilized people in Palestine; while the Egyptians occupied or controlled the Sinaitic peninsula.

About 2500 B. C. according to the evidence of archaeology and inscriptions alike, the Semites took possession of Palestine. Apparently they came down from the north. Dr. Clay has emphasized very strongly the importance of the Semitic civilization of the west at this time and even earlier, that the Semitic power of the west was not secondary to and derived from that of Babylonia, but rather the reverse, that Semites from Amurru were moving downward into Babylonia from the west and northwest along the Euphrates valley from a very early period. After 2500 B. C. their power in Babylonia was greatly enhanced and by the middle of the latter half of the third millennium we find the region from the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf practically unified in civilization, and the Babylonian script and culture reaching well into Central Asia Minor, as evidenced by the number of Babylonian tablets found in Cappadocia, which show a local development of civilization identical with that of Baby-

lonia. Whether there was there a Semitic population we cannot as yet say certainly, but Semitic names occur in the inscriptions, and the Cappadocians seem to have been at least sharers of the civilization extending down the Euphrates to Babylonia.

Of the existence of a Semitic population further eastward in Armenia from an early time we have ethnological evidence in the modern Armenians. The Armenian language belongs to the Indo-European family of languages. The same is not true of the Armenian people. It requires no great observation to determine from their physical characteristics and appearance that the Armenian and the Jew stand very close to one another. Indeed it takes considerable discernment to distinguish one from the other. It is true that one notices in both peoples many dissimilar individuals. Among the Armenians with whom I was thrown I noted occasionally persons of distinctly Indo-European type, some of whom I might have mistaken for inhabitants of India, and others who were Tatar-Mongolian in form and feature; but the typical Armenian was scarcely distinguishable from the typical Jew, and both presented the same characteristics which are so apparent in the Assyrian sculptures. Indeed those sculptures might very well pass for representations either of the Jews or of the Armenians of to-day. I have had some curious illustrations of this in actual experience. Also I have been interested and amused to observe that while Arabs, themselves Semites, could detect a Jew as not being an Arab, merely from his physical appearance, they could not discriminate between Armenian and Jew any more than I was able to do. Not only are the Armenians and Jews alike in appearance however; the likeness between them in mental and moral attributes, and in a curious race persistence, has been commented upon by most diverse observers. The Armenian country has been overrun and invaded from the earliest time of which we have any knowledge by peoples of all sorts of races and nationalities, but apparently that has happened there which has happened in some other regions, that an underlying race, altho conquered and assimilated by its conquerors so far as language or even religion and civilization are concerned, has retained thru all its primitive type, and indeed has absorbed into itself its conquerors. The Armenians, speaking an Indo-European language, but so strikingly Hebraic in appearance, are the best evidence which can be given

that Armenia was originally a Semitic country, even tho later we find the Asianic Urardhian or Alarodian and the Indo-European Armenian languages spoken there. The resemblance of the Jew to the Assyrian and the Armenian, the one at the extreme southwest, the other at the extreme northeast, gives us some evidence of the limits of the northern Semites, who are distinguished from the southern Semites in type as in language.³

Since the Mohammedan invasion the southern Semites have pushed northward, and we have the south Semitic type to-day predominating thruout Syria, Mesopotamia and Babylonia, up to or almost up to the Taurus mountains, thruout the region where we also have the Arabic language in use. But the Jew and the Armenian still testify to the old type of the Aramaean Semites, the one lingering in the old homeland, the other scattered pretty much over the world, but persistent in the maintenance of the racial national type.

It seems to me that the evidence at present in hand would indicate Asia Minor, including Armenia, or Asia Minor and the country south of it from the Taurus mountains to the Euphrates, as the homeland of the Semites. From this at some very early period moved southward the southern Semites, pushing into Africa to combine with a white race of the north, and a dark negroid race of the south, to form the Egyptian people, at the same time pushing down into Arabia where, in the south especially, they developed later kingdoms of high culture and much wealth, and across the straits of Bab-el-Mandeb into Ethiopia. Semites who kept together and moved downward into Arabia were absolutely shut off and sealed up for a long period in the Arabian peninsula. This could easily happen, because the desirable lands were southward, where the rich and cultured states developed, while the northern lands were relatively barren or actual desert, not inviting in the same way settled and permanent occupation. Even in historic times, it would seem from the Arabian inscriptions of the first millennium B. C., the wealth of

³ It has been suggested that the Hittite sculptures show the same Armenian Assyrian-Jewish type. I should not be surprised if the Hittites proved to be of the same stock, Asia Minor Semites, Aramaeans, dominated by Indo-European invaders, just as the Gauls later dominated a considerable part of Asia Minor; but from the rude conventionalism of their sculptures I do not feel that we can argue with the same security as we can from the Assyrian sculptures.

those southern regions still tempted the men of the north, so that what movement there was continued to be southward, the north being incapable of supporting a large population. Moreover two great powers early developed to the northeast and the northwest, setting a barrier against northern migration, on the east the Sumerian, and apparently kindred Elamite, kingdoms, in southern Babylonia and the adjacent plain, extending their conquering expeditions far to the west and north, and on the west Egypt, occupying or dominating also the Sinaitic peninsula eastward. These two, with the desert region in between, eventually bottled up the southern Semites in Arabia, leaving them to develop among themselves, according to the nature of the land occupied, two fairly different types of language and civilization, the northern and the southern Arabian.

This occupation of Arabia and isolation of the southern Semites must have taken place very early, for before the close of the fourth millennium the Egyptian people had been formed by the amalgamation above referred to, and by the beginning of the third millennium a strong Egypt had come into existence, exploiting Sinai, taking an exclusive attitude toward foreigners, and regarding with contempt the few and mean uncivilized peoples on their eastern border. The Sumerian peoples in Babylonia had come to maturity about the same time.

As already pointed out, in the beginning of the third millennium B. C. we find Semites pressing down from the north and northwest upon the Sumerians, and pushing southward still more rapidly and effectively beyond the Syrian desert to the west. By about 2500 B. C. these latter had occupied Palestine and reached the Egyptian border. Nor did they stop here. Apparently for a time they overran and overwhelmed Egypt itself. At least at this time comes a gap in Egyptian history, representing seemingly the overthrow of the Egyptian power by some foreign invasion. In the immediately following centuries the Semites also finally overthrew the Sumerian power of southern Babylonia, and absorbed or amalgamated with the Sumerian culture of that region. By the end of the third millennium a Semitic empire or rather a congeries of Semitic states and nations stretched from the Mediterranean eastward to the Persian mountains, and from the Taurus mountains and beyond southward to the borders of Egypt and the Persian Gulf.

About or shortly after 2000 B. C. new folk movements begin to make themselves felt first in Asia Minor. Indo-European peoples, on the move eastward apparently, invade Asia Minor. On the extreme west they attack and ultimately overturn the old Aegean civilization in the Troad. Farther east they appear as Hittites, with their capital at Boghaz Keui, occupying Cappadocia and pressing downward into Syria, some even reaching the extreme southern limits of Palestine. Further east, as the Mitanni, they pour out of the mountains and establish a kingdom in Mesopotamia; while still further eastward perhaps as Cassites, but much more mixed with foreign elements, they conquer Babylonia and establish a dynasty there. All these three last named, Hittites, Mitanni, and Cassites, are apparently Indo-European, at least as to their dynasties and the governing class, but not necessarily in the bulk of their population. They are Indo-European very much in the sense that the various Norse settlements in France, Sicily, and ultimately in England were Norse. What they actually accomplished is curiously like what those 20,000 Gauls accomplished who invaded Asia Minor in the 3d century B. C. and left on the whole country an impression which lasted the better part of a millennium. It would appear from what little we know of early Indo-European history that these invading and conquering Indo-Europeans of the early centuries of the second pre-Christian millennium in Asia Minor were parts of the great folk movement which ultimately overran Persia and northern India, and then much later flooded backward from the East into hither Asia as Persians and Armenians. The invasions of the second millennium came from the north and west. These invaders were branches or divisions of a great mass on the move, which pushed southward into and ultimately thru Asia Minor at various points. In doing this they naturally dislodged other peoples inhabiting Asia Minor, among them the Aramaeans, driving them before them and carrying them with them into Syria and Mesopotamia, sometimes as settlers, sometimes as nomads or semi-nomads. This movement of Aramaeans southward, due to pressure from the north, commencing with the Indo-European invasion of the first half of the second millennium, continued, as we have seen from Ashur-nazir-pal's annals, for over a millennium. With the Indo-European invaders of the

first half of the second millennium seems to have come the horse as a part of their fighting equipment, giving them an advantage over more highly civilized peoples whom they found in their way, as the use of iron gave to the Indo-European invaders of some centuries later an advantage over the invaded states of the Aegean, Egyptian, Syrian, and Babylonian civilizations of that period. The Hittites in small bands pushed thru Asia Minor, across the Taurus into Syria, and, as we learn from the Biblical records, into the extreme southern part of Palestine. By these Indo-European invasions numerous Semitic states and nations were dislocated and pushed southward, as already pointed out, to dislocate other states in their turn, until finally all the Semitic nationalities, with the exception of Assyria and Babylonia, were overrun and conquered and their populations amalgamated or forced to flee southward. Even Assyria and Babylonia were for a time submerged, and an Indo-European dynasty was established in the latter, if in fact the Cassite conquerors were Indo-Europeans. Mesopotamia, as noted, came under the sway of invaders who were in their governing classes at least Indo-European, and Hittite states, Indo-European in the same sense, were established in northern Syria. Large Semitic populations driven southward in this way migrated to the borders of Egypt. Conquered by the Indo-European invaders they had adopted from their conquerors certain of their tools, and among other things apparently the horse. Horses and chariots gave them the superiority over the Egyptians, which enabled them, in the form of the Hyksos, not only to invade but to conquer Egypt. Assyria, Babylonia, and Egypt, being already highly organized states, retained their identity thru these invasions and conquests, and in time amalgamated or expelled the invaders. Egypt became by the necessities of its great struggle for deliverance for a time a military and conquering nation, and, having expelled the Hyksos, itself invaded Asia, pushing northward to meet the Hittite empire in northern Syria, and the Mitanni in Mesopotamia. There ensued a couple of centuries of great brilliance, and then after this relatively brief period of great empires of high culture occupying a broad belt, approximately following indefinitely east and west the northern and southern lines of the Mediterranean nations, there commences in the 14th pre-Christian century a period of general disturbance, resulting from new

folk movements from the north, partly Indo-European, partly Asianic, which affect the whole Mediterranean and Aegean area, with Asia Minor and parts southward. When after those dark ages the curtain again lifts, toward the close of the second millennium, Egypt has been driven back within its own borders, the civilized Aegean states have vanished, giving way to semi-civilized Indo-European peoples, fragments of the former lingering on, in the shape of the Philistines on the south Palestinian coast and perhaps the Etruscans in Italy. The empire of the Hittites in Asia Minor has disappeared, and the greater part of Asia Minor and Armenia is occupied by various nations speaking Asianic languages, who are crowding the remaining Aramaeans southward; Assyria and Babylonia are thoroly Semitic states, the former dominant. Mesopotamia is Aramaean, and so is all Syria to and below Damascus, with the exception of some Hittite fragments, notably the kingdom of Carchemish in northern Syria. Northward and eastward of Assyria, however, being pressed southward by pressure from above, are still numerous Aramaean peoples and tribes. Along the Syrian coast and in Palestine are a number of states and cities using the Canaanite-Phoenician tongue, the Hebrews and their kindred peoples to the east and south, however, claiming to be Aramaean by race. In southern Arabia and to some extent along the west coast are rich and highly civilized Arabic kingdoms.

From this time on until the Persian conquest Hither Asia south of Asia Minor is Semitic. Asia Minor, linguistically at least, is in general non-Semitic. Arabia is still fairly well shut off from the Semitic populations to the north, altho South Arabia is commercially in communication with them. In the seventh century we find the Assyrians conducting campaigns against Arabic kings or chiefs in northern Arabia, suggesting that possibly that movement from Arabia northward was beginning which first makes itself clearly discernible, however, in the Nabataean migration of a century or two later. During all this period, and until the Nabataean movement developed, the Aramaeans were pushing southward on both east and west, permeating Assyria and Babylonia, and occupying parts of northern Arabia, and, as already pointed out, Aramaic culture and the Aramaean tongue continued to advance and spread for almost a thousand years more, until, just before the Arabian conquest in the 7th

century A. D., Aramaean was the *lingua franca* of all hither Asia.

The evidence now available, linguistically, archaeologically, and from historical records, seems to show that the home of the Semites was not to the south in Arabia, but to the north in Asia Minor and regions eastward of that. From the very earliest times we find the Semites pressing southward. Their earliest homeland as a civilized people of record is just southward of the Taurus, from northern Babylonia westward into Syria. The indications are that at that period they had already begun to move southward, and their original home was probably still farther to the north and east. Armenia would appear to have been a part of that original homeland.

THE VEDIC POSTERIUS -PITVAM, COVER (NIGHT)

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THE WORDS *prapitvám*, *āpitvám*, and *abhipitvám* must all be compounds, and their analysis as such is very simple. The posterius -*pitvam*,¹ quasi 'tectum,' is derived from the root pō(1) '(pro-) tegere,' but in Greek πῶμα we have the concrete sense of 'lid, cover.' From the sense of 'cover' -*pitvam* developed the sense of 'night.' The conception is familiar. We have in Isaiah (60. 2), 'Darkness shall cover the earth.' Shakespeare may be cited for 'Night is fled, Whose pitchy mantle over-veil'd the earth'; and for 'Well cover'd with the night's black mantle.' In the Iliad (5. 23) Homer has the same figure. Prellwitz is undoubtedly right when, in his Greek lexicon, he connects σκέπας 'shelter,' generalized from 'cover,' with Skr. *kṣāp*, Av. *xšāp* 'night.' In Skr. *abhi-pitvám* 'evening' and *ā-pitvám* (cf. Av. *ā-xšapan-* 'evening twilight') we have the sense of 'sub noctem' (close to night), while *pra-pitvám* (cf. *pra-doṣām* 'at eve'), which originally meant 'ante noctem' (=twilight), was allocated, thanks to the frequent connotation of *pra-* in other time words (πρωτ 'mane'), to the sense of 'morning twilight.' These words are cognate with Lat. *o-pā-cus*, dark, shadowy (see *JAOS* 34. 336, n. 1).

In *āpitvám* we have the IE. preverb ē, which I am always disposed to speak of as Brugmann's ē (see *Gr.* 2. 2, §634). In spite of all the exaggerated use to which Brugmann puts it, as in ἤπιος (*l. c.*), its reality is not to be doubted.

To get the Vedic usage of *pra-pitvám* settled right I have consulted, besides the lexica, the versions of Griffith, Ludwig, and Grassmann. Ludwig, who etymologizes *prapitvám* on Lat. *prope* 'near,' translates everywhere as if in terms of propinquitas or appropinquatio. This erroneous definition seems supported by

¹ Cf. *AJP* 27. 308, n. 2, in which I refer to Bloomfield's different explanation of *pitvā*.

RV. 3. 53. 24, where the seer is eulogizing the prowess of the Bharatas, famed as horsemen. He says:

apapitvám cikitur ná prapitvám

and Ludwig, in common with all other authorities, renders by 'These Bharatas think <not> on the far and not on the near.' This is erroneous. The sense is: 'They reckon of uncovering (i. e. open fight) and not of cover (fighting behind ramparts).'—In 5. 31. 7, which relates the slaying of Śuṣṇa, demon of drouth, by Indra, where Griffith renders *prapitvám yánn* by 'drawing nigh' (Ludwig's 'zu leibe ihm gehend' is not meant to be different), even Grassmann renders by 'vorwärts-eilend.' The phrase means in propugnaculum <hostile> iens, said of Indra advancing upon the hiding place of the demon. Note Skr. *pā-tāla-m*, underground hiding or residence of serpents or demons.—In three passages (1. 189. 7; 4. 16. 12; 7. 41. 4), thanks in two of them to construction with the genitive of the word for 'day,' Ludwig's versions, harmonizing with Grassmann's and Griffith's, imply 'at dawn.' In all the passages where Griffith recognizes 'prope' Grassmann, to the improvement of the sense, admits 'dawn.' In 1. 104. 1, *vástor . . . prapitvé* either means 'luci . . . mane' (tautological), or 'at dawn of morn.'—In 10. 73. 2, as Grassmann sees, *dhvāntāt prapitvāt* means 'ex tenebricosa mane.'—In 4. 16. 12, the slaying of Śuṣṇa at dawn (*prapitvé áhnaḥ* 'beim nahen des tages,' Ludwig) is admitted by all the translators. We can hardly refuse in 6. 31. 3, in a description of the same act, to render *prapitvé* alone by 'mane'; and even in 5. 31. 7, *prapitvám yánn*, *prapitvám* (acc.; cf. *pradoṣám* 'at eve') may be used in the sense of 'mane.' My results for *prapitvám* are that in RV. 3. 53. 24 and 5. 31. 7 it means 'hiding, shelter, cover'; in all other cases it means 'twilight,' from 'cover of night,' with a general, but not exclusive, application to the morning twilight. In recasting the definitions of the second Petersburg lexicon, viz. (1) abitus, (2) fuga, (3) recessus, (4) vesper, we must start from original 'protectus,' with connotation of (a) 'recessus' and (b) 'shelter of the night, twilight' (in RV. 8. 1. 29, see below); generally, but not exclusively, 'morning.' The senses 'fuga' (receptus) and 'abitus' are mere nuances of 'recessus.'

Excursus on the sept of English *evening*.

In his entry under Germ. *abend* Kluge writes as pre-Germanic primates (1) *ēpntó-*; (2) *ēptón-*, in O.Norse *aptann*; (3) *ēptén-*, in O.Eng. *æfen*. No cognates out of the Teutonic group have ever been pointed out. The Rig Veda has a clear cognate, however, in *āpitvám* 'evening.'

The first explanation would be to derive all the cognates from the root *ēp*. This appears as *ap* in Latin *apere*, 'to bind' (pf. *co-ēpi*), and I have before now thought of 'night' as the 'binder,' cf. Νύξ δμῆτρευα θεῶν . . . καὶ ἀνδρῶν (Iliad 14. 259).

A second definition, cleaving still to the root *ēp*, is suggested by the fact that the Greeks, in the word *εὐφρόνη* (Hesiod), designated night as the 'kindly' time. Accordingly, Skr. *āpi-tvám* would lend itself to explanation as an abstract to *āpi-s* 'verbündeter, freund,' certainly cognate with Homeric ἡπιος² 'friendly.' The root *ēp* 'to bind' is certain in *ἡπητής*, 'mender'; cf., with the *ō*-grade, the synonymous *ὀπήτρια*.

Neither of these definitions seems admissible on account of Skr. *abhi-pitvám* and *pra-pitvám*, which latter, combined with the adjective *api-śarvará-m* 'verging on night' (applicable both to morning and evening), does mean 'evening' once (RV. 8. 1. 29), but elsewhere, when a time word, means 'morning.' This all the lexicographers and translators of the Rig Veda have seen, save only the great authority of the second Petersburg Lexicon (followed by Monier Williams), which here has gone wrong—misled, I take it, by the instance with *apiśarvaré* (locative). This was because *apiśarvaré* usually means 'at dawn' (Lat. *mane*). The truth is that *api-* in the compound signified 'close to'; cf. Lat. *sub*, used to mean 'just before' in *sub noctem*, but also 'just after' in *sub luce* <*m*>, cf. the note of Weissenborn-Müller on Livy 25. 24. 7. But it also means that *pra-pitvám* originally meant 'twilight,' but was subsequently allocated to the dawn, thanks to the syllable *pra-* 'before,' cf. Skr. *prātár* and *pra-ge* 'mane.'

² Lest, misguided by Brugmann, *Gr.* 2. 2. 616, one divide ἡπιος and go on to connect with Lat. *pius*, let me note that *pius* is properly to be explained, after Wiedemann, as 'protecting' (*AJP* 37. 172); while the verb *piare* means 'to offer fat' (*ib.* 162).

After this necessary explanation of Skr. *ā-pitvám* and *-pitvam*, quasi 'night,' let us return to our Indo-European primates.

(1) *ē-p-ntó-* is a compound, with reduction of *ṛ* in composition to zero (see Bartholomae's rule in *IF* 7. 70; 10. 197), of *ṛ* + *ṛṇ-* *NTO*. In *ṛṇ-NTO-* we have the extension of a participle *ṛṇ-NT-* (: *pō* : : Lat. *dant* : *dō*) by the declension exponent *o*. Cf. with strong stem Skr. *pānta* 'portion,' from the homonymous root *pōi*, type of Lat. *ventus* 'wind,' Skr. *dānta-* : *dānt-* 'tooth.'

(2) *ēptén-/ēptón-*, wherein *ṛṇ* is again reduced in composition to *p*. For the suffix *TEN* see the data in Brugmann's *Grundriss* 2. 1, §222.

(3) *ēpitvóm* in Skr. *āpitvám* contains in *pi* the weakest vocalism of the root *pōi*. With *-tvom* cf. the cognate suffix in Goth. *ūh-tvō* 'dawn' and in Skr. *vás-tu-* 'morning.'

PHONETIC RELATIONS IN SUMERIAN

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IT IS BECOMING more and more evident from a careful examination of the Sumerian vocabulary as set forth, for example, in Delitzsch's 'Sumerisches Glossar'¹ and previously in my *MSL*² that many phenomena which were formerly regarded as phonetic changes occurring dialectically within the language are really nothing more than the results of imperfect attempts to represent by means of Cuneiform characters a system of phonetics for which the Cuneiform signs had no real equivalents.

It will be apparent from an examination of the following table (A), of possible consonantal variants, and also the table (B), of the vocalic variation in the Cuneiform texts, that, while some of the changes may be real dialectic differentiations,³ the inference is in favor of the theory that most of them were probably mere graphic differences; thus, the equations $g-\check{g} = g-r$ (guttural r) is a certain indication of the possible guttural character of g , as well as of the well known guttural \check{g} , while $g-k$ (probably = nasal k ; cf. $k-n$) and $g-m, g-n$ demonstrate that there was also in Sumerian a nasal ng represented in various ways. The feeble nasal character of the Sumerian m has long been recognized (cf. *MSL* x). That there was a cerebral r , as well as a guttural r , seems equally clear from the equation $d-l-n-r$, where the equation of the l appears to point to a thick d -like l , as in Russian *lob* 'forehead.' This $n = d-l-r$ was probably not the nasal ng but plain liquid n . The equations $n-\check{s}, n-z$ are very curious. They are, however, paralleled in modern Chinese phonetics; thus, Peking *žen*, Hakka *nyin*, Fuchow *nöng*, Ningpo *žing* and *nying*, Wöunchow *zang, nang*, all = 'man'; similarly, Peking *jih*, Ningpo

¹ Friedrich Delitzsch, *Sumerisches Glossar*, Leipzig, 1914, and cf. especially my paper *JAOS* 34. 321-328.

² *Materials for a Sumerian Lexicon*, Leipzig, 1908.

³ For the five *eme*'s or dialects, viz., *eme-sal* (or *eme-gal*); *eme-sukudda*; *eme-sub-a*; *eme-te-na*; *eme-si-di*, see Delitzsch, *Sumerische Grammatik*, p. 21, and Prince, *AJS* 23. 209-210; also *AJS* 31. 71 and 28. 67-68.

jeh and *nyih* = 'sun' (H. A. Giles, *Chinese and English Dictionary*, Nos. 5624, 579). This Sumerian *n* which could be represented by *š* must have been a palatalized nasal, while the *š* was probably not a pure *sh*, as in English, but a palatalized *š* similar to the present pronunciation of Swedish *sj*, as in *sju* 'seven' (almost *whyu*). There is only a very slight tongue movement between a palatal nasal and a palatal sibilant (*MSL* p. xii).

The equation *r-š* is not an unusual development; for example, the final *r* in the modern Osmanli Turkish as well as in the Iranian Armenian is pronounced *rz* with a very slight sibilant ending; cf. for a marked *r* + sibilant, the complete assimilation of *r* and *z* in the Bohemian sibilant *r*, as in *reznik* 'butcher.' That *s* = *š* and *s* = *z* and conversely is not surprising, as Hebrew *š* and *z* interchange, while in the modern English dialect of Somersetshire *z* takes the place of *s* throughout. The interchange of *s*, *z* and *t* (*s-t*; *t-z*) is a well known phenomenon based upon the aspiration of *t* (*t* = *dh* = *s*), as in Ashkenazi Hebrew *sav* = *tau* (ט).

This analysis would then give the following provisional statement of some of the actual Sumerian consonants:

CEREBRALS: *r* = *d* represents a cerebral *r* as in Urdu ر.

DENTALS: *t-dh-s*; cf. Greek⁴ αἶδω = Sumerian *itu*, 'month,' showing the intermediate between *t* and *s*; cf. Cerebrals.

GUTTURALS: *g-ğ-r* (guttural) = Arabic غ.

LABIALS: *b-p-m-w* = a medial *b* verging between *w* and a light *f*; probably similar to Spanish *b*; cf. = Sumerian *burun-marun*, Br. 10242/3 (*MSL* x); *ba* = *mu*, *VR* 28. 29a and especially cf. Greek Δελεφάρ = Dilbat 'the Venus-star' (Prince, Daniel, 226) and Greek μολοβοβάρ = *mulubabbar*, showing the labial pronunciation of Sumerian *b*.

LINGUALS: *l-d* = a thick *l* as in Russian and the original pro-

⁴It is clear that Sumerian was read aloud probably ritually until a very late date, because we have a number of pure Sumerian words in Greek trans-literation all of which are given by Leander, *Sumerische Lehnwörter*, and commented on *MSL* pp. ix-x. While it is true that these Greek transcriptions represent a late ritual pronunciation of Sumerian, there is no reason to doubt that even at this period the general phonetic tradition was correct, as Sumerian had been carefully preserved and cultivated in the temples by a numerous conservative priesthood.

nunciation of Polish barred *l*; now, however, commonly pronounced *w*; cf. Norwegian dialectic *kadla* = *kalla* 'call.'

l-n = probably a palatalized light *l* similar to German *l*. Persons with speech-defects sometimes pronounce *nh* in English instead of *l*, as *nhight* for 'light'; *Nhivingston* for 'Livingston,' etc. The writer has heard this unconscious change. For *l-n*, cf. Greek *Ιλλυος* = Sumerian *Enlil*.

NASALS: *g* = nasal *k* = *m-n* = *ng*. It should be noted, however, that *k* also represented a real *k*, as Greek *Ερεσκιγαλ* = *Ereškigal* (Jensen, *KB* 6. 82; Zimmern, *KAT* 583), unless indeed the Greeks could not represent the nasal *k*, except by means of their own *k* (?). Cf. also Greek *κισσαρη* = *ki-šar* 'the lower universe' and Greek *Σεκες* = *sagaz*.

n-d seems to indicate a dental *n*, as in later Cornish *widn* 'one'; a common interchange.

n-š a nasal palatal *ngj*; see above and also Dentals.

SIBILANTS: *s-š*; note Greek *Ερεσκιγαλ* = *Ereškigal*, cited above *sub* Nasals. This is a usual Sumerian phonetic interchange and probably represented in Sumerian a palatalized *sj*, as in Swedish *sj* in *sjuk* 'sick' = *wh* (see above), which would be likely to be represented as either *s* or *š* in Cuneiform.

s-z; cf. Greek *Σεκες* = *sagaz*.

Our attempt to define the exact character of the Sumerian vowels is even more uncertain. Here evidently *a-e-i-u* could each stand in place of any vowel, a significant fact which leads to the conclusion that many Sumerian vowels were not reducible to the Cuneiform system. Any one of the Cuneiform vowels *a-e-i-u* might readily have been used to indicate the indeterminate vowel seen in English *but* and represented in a longer aspect by the Rumanian *â*, *î* and the Bulgarian smothered *u*. The Hebrew *Sh'va mobile* and the *e* in *before* in English represent the shorter form of this same vowel-sound which was most probably a very common Sumerian vowel. On the other hand, we may not doubt the existence of clear Sumerian vowels, because *a-a*, *e-e*, *i-i* and *u-u* all occur, evidently intended to represent *a*, *e*, *i*, *u*. We have comparatively little light on this subject except from the Semitized Sumerian loanwords and the few Greek transliterations of Sumerian words cited above, all of which show that there were clear vowels in Sumerian, as well as indeterminate vowel-sounds.

The verb-prefixes,⁵ varying as they do vocally, are, on the other hand, a fairly sure indication of the presence of indeterminate vowels in these preformatives; thus, *ne, ni; ba, bi; mu, ma, mi; mun, man; in, an; ab, ib, ub; am, im, um* are in all probability not directive prefixes, as I formerly thought,⁶ but merely vocalic attempts on the part of Cuneiform scribes to represent the indeterminate vowel: *nũ, bũ, mũ, ãn, ãb, ãm*. If this is so, the Sumerian verbal system is greatly simplified for modern scholars, as the necessity ceases for regarding these *a-i-u*-variants as having some subtle undiscovered force. The importance of a still closer phonetic study of Sumerian cannot, therefore, be overlooked, as these phonetics have the most direct bearing on the formation of the entire vocabulary.

In a previous paper,⁶ I have pointed out the probable existence of tones in Sumerian similar to those existing in modern Chinese. While I still must adhere to this theory as one aid towards the explanation of the many meanings seen in the Sumerian vocabularies attached to apparently the same vocable, the uncertain character of Sumerian vowel-values, as well as the possibilities of variant consonantal values, indicated above, now give us a far wider range of possible sound-variation in any given vocable; thus, the syllable *ba*, for example, might have been pronounced *ba, pa, wa, fa*, so far as consonantal variation goes, and also *bũ, pũ, wũ, fũ* and even *bâ, pâ, wâ, fâ*, thus giving twelve conceivable phonetic possibilities to which different meanings might have been attached. In this way, it will be seen that the tone-theory is no longer so necessary as it seemed at first. A further study of the following tables of consonantal and vocalic possibilities will demonstrate this point more satisfactorily.

Furthermore, the interrelationship of Sumerian words and combinations should be examined much more carefully than has hitherto been done, for example, in Delitzsch's *Glossar*, where the author pays comparatively little attention to the connections between allied stems. In the following brief Comparative Glossary (C) I have given a few such comparisons of allied stems and meanings, arranged in such a way as to set forth probable phonetic interrelationships. Work of this kind should be done

⁵ Delitzsch, *Sum. Gr.* pp. 92 ff.

⁶ *AJSL* 31. 68.

throughout the entire Sumerian vocabulary, so far as we have it at present. Especial attention should also be directed to the existence of a number of synonymous combinations, which are in reality an extension of reduplication; thus, in the list given below: *gibil* 'fire,' in which *gi* and *bil* each = 'fire'; *a-za-lu-lu* = *tenešêti* 'people,' where *a* is the abstract vowel-prefix + *za* 'man' + reduplicated *lu* also = 'man.' Precisely the same phenomenon is seen in Chinese, as in *me-li*, 'beautiful,' where *me* and *li* each = 'beautiful'; *kwah-kwũ*, 'wide' (*kwah*, 'wide' + *kwũ* 'wide'); *shu-mu* 'tree' (*shu* 'tree' + *mu* 'tree'), etc. This peculiarity is indicative of a tendency towards bisyllabism in a primitively monosyllabic language and may be compared with the similar tendency towards trilateralism in Semitic, which, from what was probably an originally biliteral system, produced an almost uniform trilateral development.

It is very dangerous to attempt to associate Sumerian word-stems with similar vocables and meanings in modern idioms, tempting as it often may appear.⁷ Such comparisons are based on what is probably nothing more than mere accidental resemblance and should not be regarded seriously from a philological point of view, although on the strength of such fortuitous resemblances Sumerian has been variously assigned to Semitic, Indo-Germanic, and Ugro-Altaic connections.

It is quite possible that an investigation along the lines herein indicated may force us to the conclusion that the Cuneiform system of writing could not have had a Sumerian origin, inasmuch as the Sumerian phonetics apparently differ so greatly from those of the Cuneiform signs, so far as we know their exact sound-values. It certainly seems clear that the Cuneiform characters were insufficient to indicate the Sumerian phonetics, a theory which is suggested by the many different methods of representing what is very evidently the same Sumerian word. Indeed, in many instances, it would seem as if the earlier Cuneiform scribes heard the Sumerian sounds inaccurately and

⁷ Note as curiosities merely; seemingly Indo-Germanic: *anšu* 'ass'; *igi* 'eye'; *uru*, *er* 'vir'; *kud* 'cut'; *tar* 'tear'; *dar* 'deer'; *dug* 'good'; seemingly Turkic: *ama* mother (Magyar *anya*); *sug*, *su* 'water'; *balag*, referred to *balalaiika* 'three stringed instrument,' a Tatar word in Russian; *dur* 'dwell,' etc.

recorded them to the best of their personal ability, which record then became conventionalized and handed down as various styles (= *eme's* or 'dialects'). Any person who has had experience in working out the transcriptions of modern untrained recorders of, for example, North American Indian languages will at once see the force of such a suggestion. Ten such unskilled recorders will produce very often ten different phonetic records for the same difficult or unclear vocable.

It is as yet too early in the study of this field to decide definitely as to the origin of the Cuneiform writing, but the probabilities are, in my opinion, distinctly in favor of its non-Sumerian, possibly Semitic origin.

A. CONSONANTAL VARIANTS

b-p: *abba-apin* (Water);^a *bil-pirig* (Fire). Labial.

g-ğ: *ge-ğen* (Small). Guttural.

g-k: *gal-kal* (Big, Woman); *gi-kin* (Place). Probably nasal (cf. *k-n*).

g-m: *geš-muš* (Man); *nergai-šermal* (Big). Nasal.

g-n: *gi-ni* (Man). Nasal.

g-r: *sig-sir* (Fire). Guttural.

g-š: *ug-uš* (Man). Probably nasal.

d-l-n-r: (a) *ir-el* (Big); (b) *di-ne* (Fire); (c) *id-ir* (Water); *kud-kur* (Cut); (d) *ir-ra-du* (Go). Cerebral—lingual nasal (cf. *l-r*).

ğ-g (*g-ğ*).

k-g (*g-k*).

k-n: *uku-unu* (Man). Nasal (cf. *g-k*).

l-d (*d-l*).

l-r: *bil-pirig* (Fire). Lingual (cf. Dental).

m-g (*g-m*).

n-d (*d-n*).

n-g (*g-n*).

n-r: *nun-nir* (Big). Nasal-lingual.

n-š: *nergai-šermal* (Big); cf. also *nad-šad* = KUR, Br. 7387/8; *na-ša* = ŠA, Br. 7045/6 and see below *n-z*. Nasal.

n-z: *na-za* (Man); see *n-š*. Nasal.

^a References to the meanings in Glossary C.

p-b (*b-p*).

r-d (*d-r*).

r-g (*g-r*).

r-l: *ir-ùl* (Big).

r-š: *ur-uš* (Man, Water); *rin-šen* (Fire). Sibilant.

s-š: *sir-sir* = *šen* (Fire); *sal-šal* (Woman). Sibilant.

s-t: *sar-tar* (Cut); *sir-tur* (Small). Aspiration; cf. *t-z*.

s-z: *sig-sir-ser* = *zag-zi* (Fire); *ser-zer* (Small).

š-g (*g-š*).

š-n (*n-š*).

š-s (*s-š*).

t-s (*s-t*).

t-z: *tur-zer* (Small). Aspiration; cf. *s-t*.

z-n (*n-z*).

z-s (*s-z*).

z-t (*t-z*).

B. VOWEL VARIANTS

a-i: *zag-sig*; *ra-ri* (Go).

a-e: (Water); *sig-sen* (Fire).

a-u: *ra-du* (Go).

e-i: *zer-sir* (Small).

e-u: *zer-zur* (Small).

i-a (*a-i*).

i-e (*e-i*).

u-a (*a-u*).

u-e (*e-u*).

In this connection, note also that *a*, *i*, *e*, *u* all interchange in expressing the idea 'Speak,' *q.v.*

C. COMPARATIVE GLOSSARY

Big

A. Nasal *g* and *k*-stems.

gal (76-77)⁹ 'big, large,' ES *mal* (263) in *šermal* (see below); *kal* (113) 'firm, strong' (see Woman, B, below).

⁹ The references in parenthesis are to the pages of Delitzsch, *Sumerisches Glossar* (in Arabic numerals), and to the number of the stem in question, *op. cit.* (in Roman numerals).

B. Nasal *n-š*-stems.

Nun (207) = *rabû*; *rubû* 'big, prince'; *nin* (204) 'lady' and 'lord' (ambigen); 'great'; *nir* (202) 'very large' = *etellu* 'great one.' This *-ir*-stem may be connected with *el* 'be high' (see High), and cf. *ni-il* (199) = *mutellû* 'lofty one.' Note here ES *šermal* 'mighty one' = EK *nergal*.

C. *dim*-stem.

dim (V 139) = *rabû* 'great'; another stem (see Fire and Light).

*Cut*A. *k-g*-stems.

kud (I, 126) = *parâsu* 'separate, cut'; *kid* (II, 118) 'slit, split' (see Woman); *kir* (II, 119) = *gacâcu* 'cut off'; also *kirrud* (119) = *xurru* 'hole.' Probably *kur* (I, 127) 'other, to separate' belongs here. Certainly *gir* (I, 91) *paṭru* 'dagger' and *gir* (VI, 92) 'cut off clay,' together with *giriṇ* (93) 'sherd,' must be classified in this category, as well as *gur* (XI, 110) and *guruš-sir* = *kacâcu* (110) 'cut'; *guruš-du* (111) 'cut through.' This *guruš* is not to be confused with *guruš* (111) = *edlu* 'man, lord.' Note here also *gur* (VII) 'harvest' and *ugur* (110) 'sword'; abstr. *u + gir*.

B. *tar*-stem.

Note that *tar* (I, 155) = *parâu*, *purruru* 'break, cut off' is a totally different stem, although a value of the same ideogram as *kud*. Perhaps *tar* = *sar* (II, 214) = *ṭaraḍu* 'drive away' and *šurrû* 'remove,' also *zaḡ* (222) = *šerû* 'remove.'

*Father*A. *ab*-stems.

ab (4) 'father'; probably = Sem. *abu*, as most scholars think, but note *pab* (72) 'father, man' and 'brother.' Is this *pab* the result of a reduplication of *ab-ab*?

B. *ad*-stems.

ad (8) 'father,' from quite a different stem: *ad* = *malâku* 'decide.' This *ad* is the regular word for 'father' and appears frequently in prolongation with the pronominal suffix as *ad-da-mu* 'my father.' I have suggested in the Columbia University Assyrian Seminar that *addamu* 'my father' and *ama* 'mother' suggested the Hebrew forms אָדָם and הוּא, since there is no

satisfactory Semitic derivation for ארם. and חור itself may be a popular etymology from ח'יה.

Fire and Light

A. *d-n-l*-stems (cf. B, below).

di/e (135) = *nabâtu* 'shine,' whence *de-dal* (135) = *tiṭallum* 'flame' = 'flying (*dal*) fire' (*da*); *ne* = *ni-e* (206) = *kinûnu* 'brasier.' Possibly this *n*-stem is connected with *na* in *na-ri* (197) 'cleanse'; also *na-ri-gar* (119) and with the *l*-stems, seen in *lağ, láğ* (168) 'shine'; *zalağ* (222), but not with *zalağ* (222) 'blow'(?). Note also here *luğ* (174) 'wash.' Delitzsch connects *dingir* (ES *dimer*), *digir* 'god' with this *di/e*-stem = 'shining being,' but *dingir*, *dimmer* may be a combination of *dim* (V, 139) = *rabû* 'great' + the stem-element *ur, er* of *urum, erum, ere* (51) 'man, person.'

B. *z-s-š*-stems.

This group is undoubtedly phonetically connected with A, above.

zag with abstr. *a*: *a-zag* (15), the usual word for *ellu* 'bright, shining, holy.' With this must be correlated *izi* (27), the usual word for fire: abstr. *i* + *zi* (IV, 223) = *namâru* 'shine.' This *izi* 'fire' has no connection with *izi* (27) 'wall' (*igâru*), from *zi* (225) = *kânu* 'establish firmly'; *zi* (II, 223) 'enclosure,' which is quite a different root from the fire-stem *zi*. To *za(g)* fire belongs probably also *zag* (V, 220) 'honey' (*dīšpu*) 'shining liquid' (thus Delitzsch); *zal* (221); *zalağ* (222) = *namâru*; cf. *in-ud-zal-la* (II, 218) 'morning'; *zalar* (219) *namru* (*r* = *ğ*).

With these *z*-stems must also be classified *sig* (IV, 242) pure; *sir* (II, 245) = *nûru* 'light'; *šen* (I, 264) = *ebbu*; cf. *šennu* (264) 'holy (shining) one'; 'priest of Ea.' Here also belongs *rīn* (178) = *ellu*; *š* = *r*.

The words for 'heaven' *zigara, zigarum* (224) and *zikum* (225) possibly also *zikura* (225) 'earth,' all meaning apparently 'lofty place,' probably do not belong here, but are loan-words from Sem. *zaqaru* 'be high, lofty.'

Note that *āzag* (15) = ID-PA, the name of a disease, possibly leprosy, has no connection with *azag* 'shining, holy,' although some scholars have made this association.

Ā here = 'side, power' + *zag*, *sig* (II, 239) 'smite.' This *ázag*, therefore = 'destruction of power,' or 'strength' and is cognate with *esig* = DAN (36) = *dannu* 'powerful.' These terms might well have been applied to any severe illness.

C. *gibīl* and *k(g)*-stems; (*p*, *b*-stems).

It is highly probable that in *gibīl* (I, 86) = *qilūtum*, the first element *gi* is cognate with *ku* (V, 125) = *ellu* 'bright'; *kun* (I, 129) = *nawarum* 'shine'; *kur* (VII, 128) 'bake'; *gud* (215) = *ellu* also belongs here and of course *kubabbar* (125) 'silver' (both *ku* and *babbar* 'shining'). With these *k*-stems, cf. *kaš* (I, 116) = *šikaru* 'liquor'; (II, 116) = *šinatum* 'urine' (acid); also *kisi* (121), *kis* = *kaš*; III = *lāsimu* 'fiery.' All these *kaš*-stems indicate heat and, in fact, *kaš* may be cognate or a variant of *kun*, *kur*; *r* = *š* = *n* with obscured vowel.

The *bīl* in *gibīl* = *bi*, *bīl* (68) = *qalū* 'burn,' so that the word *gibīl* is probably a combination of two elements, both meaning fire, cf. *ku-babbar* cited just above. Such tautology is quite common in modern Chinese combinations (see above Introduction). With this *bi*, *bīl*, cf. also *pirig* (74) = *namrum* = *pir-ig* and *bu* (III, 69) = *napāxu* 'glow.'

Go

A. *r-d*-stems.

ir (23) = *alāku* 'go'; *ra* (174) = *alāku*; *ri* (175) = *alāku*, with which are cognate the *d*-stems: *du* (141) = *alaku*; II = *našū* 'fetch, bring'; *dī* (135) and *dī-dī*. Here also belongs the usual *gin* (93) 'go' and *ge* (98) 'go, turn, bring back,' with which must be associated *gur* (I, 109) 'turn, run.' The *g* in these stems was clearly nasal *ng*. With *gin*, *ge* must be grouped *nigin* (200), *ni-ni* (204) 'go around, surround.'

Note that *ri* (II, 177) given as 'blow' by Delitzsch in the phrase: *im-ḡul-bi-ta mu-un-da-ru-uš* means simply 'go,' i. e., 'with the evil wind they go.'

B. *l*-stems.

līg-lag (169) 'lead' is from quite a different root.

Hear

A. *gš-šg*-stems.

gi/eš-tug (97) hear; the usual expression; lit. 'have ear, hear.' The stem *šeg*, *še* (I, 262) = *šemû*, *magâru* 'hear, be favorable'

is possibly a metathesis of *gi/eš*, perhaps arising from a reduplication *giš-giš* = *šg* = *šeg* (?).

B. The stem *bur* (I, 70) also = *uznu* 'ear,' an entirely different root.

High

A. *n*-stems.

an (12) 'high, heaven; broad' (?) (cf. II, 13; *anu* (14) 'ear of grain'; syn. *eššu* (37): *en* = *an* 'high' + *še* 'grain.' This *eššu* seems to indicate that the *-n* of *an* was nasal and hence easily assimilated; cf. *anšu* (14) 'ass,' where the apparently pure *n* does not coalesce with the *š*. Note also *en* (34) 'be high; lord'; *i* (17) = *nâdu* 'exalted' for *in* and *il* (21) = *našû* 'lift up.' In this connection should also be compared *na* (195) = *elu* high. It is not probable that *il* (21) 'high' is a loan-word from Sem. *elû* (עלוי).

B. *gr*-stems.

gur (II, 109) = *našû* 'lift up,' whence probably *gur* (III, 110) 'bend' and *gur* (V, 110) 'to measure,' and from this last *gur* (VI, 110) 'bucket, pail'; 'a measure.' Note also here *gur* (VII, 110) 'harvest' = 'lifting, gathering.'

Little (see small)

Man, People

A. *l-n*-stems.

lu (171) = *nu* (206) 'man, person,' cognate with *ni* (199) 'self, person' = *ramânu*; cf. here *ní-ta* (ġ) (201) = male and *ní-d* (202) 'slave, servant'; syn. *uš*, *q. v.*, below. Here belong also *na* (195) and *za* (218) = *amêlu* 'man' (*n* = *z*) and as a variant of *ní*, cf. *gi* (86) and *gi/eš* (I a, 95) = ES *mu*, *muš*, representing nasal *g* in these stems. Note also *gu* (105) = *ašâredu* 'leader, chief' (see B, below). It is highly likely that all these *l-n-g*-stems are connected in meaning with *nu* (II, 206) 'beget' and 'seed' (*zêru*).

Connected with *lu* is, of course, *azalulu* (15): abstr. *a* + *za* 'man' + *lu-lu*; the whole = *tenešêti* 'mankind.'

With the nasal *g*-stems must probably be associated *uk*, *uku* (42) = *nišu* 'people.' A proof of the nasal character of the *k* in *uku* is seen in the variant *unu* (53) 'people; dwelling' (= *ungu*).

B. *uš-ur*-stems.

uš (58) for *muš* = *gi/eš* 'man' connected with *uš* (I, 57) 'flow, seed' in generation. This *uš* appears apparently also in *guruš* (111) = *edlum*; cf. *gur* (II, 109) 'exalt, lift up,' but is not connected with *uš* (58) = *mûtu* 'death' which may be a softening to *š* of the *g* in the supposed form (*u*)*g* (42) = *mûtum*. The form *uš* 'man' is clearly cognate with *ur* (I, 47) = *amêlu*; also *urum*, *erum*, *ere* from original *ôrôm* (Delitzsch); *r* = *š*, *passim*.

The word *ur* (II, 47) 'dog' has evidently another derivation and must have been uttered with another tone or quantity.

It is evident that between all the *man*-stems there is a phonetic connection viz., *lu-nu-gi(ngi)-gi/eš(ngi/eš)-uš-ur*, i. e. that *l-n-g* (*ng*) interchange and that this consonantal preformative of the root is omitted before the words *uš-ur*. The ES forms *mu*, *muš*, whence also *me* 'man' are, of course, mere phonetic variants of *gu*, *gi/eš*, *gu*.

Place

All *k-ng*-stems.

ki (116-117) = *mâtum* 'land'; *kin* (119) and the nasal *gi* (86) = *mâtum*. This *ki*-stem is the usual word and means 'place, earth, land'; cf. *kingi* 'Land of Sumer' (121); see Prince, *AJSL* 28. 67 = Heb. עֵשֶׂת. That the initial *k* of *ki*, *kin* was probably nasal is seen from the vocable *ni-in* (205) = *mi-im* (184), both meaning 'land,' and evidently attempts to indicate the nasal *ng*; i. e., *nin-mim* = *nging* = *kin*. This same *kin-king*-stem is seen also in *kalam* (114) = ES *kanagga* (115) (= **kanagga*, or = **kangang*).

See

igi (18-19) = ES *ide* 'eye.' There is apparently no direct word for 'see,' which is expressed by compounding *igi* with various verbal roots, as *igi-du* 'go with eye'; *igi-tug* 'have eye'; *igi-bar* 'separate with eye' = 'distinguish'; *igi-si* 'fill eye'; also *igi-lal* 'fill eye'; *igi-dab* 'eye seize' = *dîb* (135) = *cabâtu*.

Seed

nu (II, 206) 'beget; seed' = *banû* and *zêru*; hence *numun* (207) = *zêru* 'seed' = *nu* 'seed' + *mun*, perhaps the same *mun* as that in *umun* 'water-hole': *u* + *mun*(?); cf. Water. Here

undoubtedly belongs *nunuz* (207), the exact meaning of which is not clear, but which appears to indicate disintegration, spoiling, fermentation; cf. *pilû ša iccuri*, perhaps 'moult,' said of a bird, and *pilû ša šikari* 'ferment,' said of wine; cf. *CT* 15. 22, obv. 1-7: *a nunuz-sa* 'alas, it is defiled' or 'spoiled,' said of a city and temple and in parallelism with *bar-mu ba-e-gá-ám* 'my dwelling is laid low.' Of course, it is possible that *nunuz-sa* in this passage may refer to offspring, a meaning which would be in association with the idea of fermentation, breeding, but *nunuz*, as Delitzsch points out (208), is primarily a color-word of a meaning similar to *sámu* 'dark colored.'

It is probable that *nunuz* is connected with *nu* = *numun* 'seed' above and also with *nun* (207) = *galâpu* 'peel' (not cognate with *nun* 'great,' *q. v.*, but with *nu* 'seed'); *nun* = *nu-nu* 'to seed off, peel off.' *Nunuz* itself may be a combination of this *nun* 'peel' + *uzu* 'skin, rind' = 'the peeling off of the skin' or 'rind' and hence, 'spoil, ferment.' *Nunuz* also = 'sour milk' in *CT* 15. 10, obv. 12 (*ga nunuz-ám*).

Small

A. *t-s-z*-stems.

tur (162) 'little, young, weak'; *tura* (163) 'sickness, weakness.' Hence *sur* (II, 251); *sir* (III, 246) = *unnušu*; *zer* in *ženzer*, *q. v.*

B. *ge*, *žen*-stems.

ge, *žen* (102) 'little'; *ženzer* (214) 'little, small'; this *zer* = *zur*, *sir*, *tur* in A above. Cf. here also *gan* in *gan-buru-da* (17) 'hole' = 'little aperture'; *bur* (71) = *pašâru* 'explain, disintegrate'; cf. *bar* (64) = *pašâru* 'separate.' The *ge*, *žen*-stem appears also in *geme* 'woman'; *ge* + *eme* 'little female'; see Woman.

C. *banda* (67) = *šerru*, *cixru* 'little.' This is quite a different *banda* from *banda*, I and III, respectively = *takširu* possibly 'support,' and *tašimtu* 'sense, prudence.' Perhaps *giš-pan* (74) = *kaštum* 'bow' (weapon) is connected with *banda*, I = *takširu*.

Speak

A. Vowel roots.

These are evidently apocopated forms of B, *q. v.* below.

a (2) 'Oh' (interjection); *i-i* (17) 'lament'; *i-nim* 'lamentation,' *passim*; *e* (29) = *qabû* 'speak, cry out'; *u, ua, ue, uai* (40) 'cry of woe.'

B. *m*-stems corresponding to A above.

ma (179) 'call'; *me* (I, 184) = *qûlu* 'voice'; 'to call,' whence also *eme* (34) 'tongue, language,' *passim*: abstr. *e* + *me* 'tongue, speech'; *mu* (I, 187) 'name': 'the thing called'; *mu* (VIII, 187) 'sing, call.'

It will be observed that the *m*-stems correspond exactly to the vowel stems in A, indicating the ellipsis of the weak initial *m* (*w*).

Water

A. Vowel stems, *b(p)* and *r-d-š*.

a (5) 'water,' probably shortened form of *ab* (5) 'sea,' as in *a-ab-ba*: *a* + *aba*; *abzu* (5) 'ocean, abyss' (see B, below).

e (I, 29) = *iku* 'water-course'; note *ega* = *a-ge-a* perhaps 'black water' (Delitzsch), whence probably the *-k-* of Sem. loanword *iku*, from *ega*(?). The Sem. form is *iku* and not *ikû* (*iqu*), with Delitzsch.

i, id; id(i) 'river'; cf. *id, id-i* (273), from the idea 'flow'; *ir, er* (24) 'weep'; *i* + *r* 'going (*r*) of water' (*i*). Here *r* and *d* and *r* and *š* seem to interchange. Note that *u* 'water' seems to appear in *umun* (52) 'water-hole'(?). *uš* (II, 57) 'flow' must belong here, as *r* and *š* may interchange.

Note that the *b(p)*-stem for 'water' also appears in *apin* (5) = *narṭabu* 'water-vessel.' This is not *a* + *pin* (Delitzsch), but more probably *ap*(= *ab*) 'water' + formative *-in* (D. Gr. § 196). With this compare also *pa* (V, 71) 'canal': *pa-ap-ab-abba*.

B. *su(zu)*-stems.

sun, su (II, 250) 'sprinkle; sink under water'; *sun* (253) = *narṭabu* 'water-vessel'; *sug* (248) 'pool, marsh'; cf. *sur* (VII, 252) = *birûtum* 'well, pit.'

It should be observed that the *zu* in *abzu* and *arazu* (10) 'weeping' is probably the *zu-su*-element, seen in the above stems, which undoubtedly connote 'water.' It is possible that *sud, sun, sug, sur* above are all variants of the same consonantal ending, i. e., *r-r-š*, in the one case, and *n*-nasal in the case of *sun*. It has already been noted that *n* and *š* may interchange. If this is so,

su and *ir*, *er*, *uš* (under A, above) may be an instance of metathesis.

Woman

A. *m*-stems.

ama (11) 'mother, womb,' whence probably *am* (11) = *maš-taku* 'chamber, extensive space'; *geme* (191) 'woman'; *ge* 'little' (see Small) + *eme* (34) 'pregnant woman'; also = *atānu* 'she-ass,' i. e., any female; *me* (185) 'mother'; *um* (11) 'mother'; this seems like a Semitic vowel on the analogy of Sem. *ummu* 'mother,' but it is probably only another vocalic *u*-variant. Note that no *ma*-form has been found as yet.

B. *kel*-stem.

The Sumerian word for 'girl' is *kêl* (*ki-el*) = Sem. *amtu* 'maid, maiden,' which Delitzsch renders as *ašru(ki) ellu (el)* 'pure place,' but this seems too fanciful. It is much more likely that *kêl* is a physical allusion to the *pudendum muliebre* and is cognate with *kid* (II, 118) 'slit' and also with *kal* (279) = *batultu* 'virgin,' which *kal* clearly = *gal* (III, 78) = *pitû* 'open.' This *gal-kal* is probably really *gal* = *rabû* 'large' (see Big) which may be connected with the idea 'cut apart'; hence 'extend, make big.'

C. *sal*-stem.

sal (233) = *uru* 'pudendum muliebre,' with which is connected *sal* (233) = *rapāšu* 'broad, wide'; cf. just above *ama* and *am*. This is probably the *sal* in *Eme-sal* 'women's speech.' Delitzsch (*Gr.* p. 21) does not believe that *sal* means 'woman,' but we find the equation *sal* = *zinništu* 'woman,' Br. 10920, that is, the sign for woman has the value *sal*, Br. 10916, and this sign also = *zinništu*. It is probable that this *sal* = *sił* (244) = *šalātu* 'slit, split' and is an allusion like *kel* (*ki-el*) to the *pudendum muliebre*. This same woman-sign has also the value *gal* (see above) which was chosen by Delitzsch instead of *sal* in his reading *Eme-gal* for *Eme-sal*.

I still see no reason to depart from my interpretation that *Eme-sal* means 'woman's speech,' or 'softer idiom' (*AJSL* 31. 72).

It is quite possible that *sal*, which also has the variant *ša-al*, Br. 10917, is an etymological variant of *kel* = *ki-el* = *kid* = *gal*, discussed sub B, just above, as the nasal *g* could interchange with *s*, *š*.

THE MIND AS WISH-CAR IN THE VEDA

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THE SUBJECT of this paper hinges on RV. 1. 32. 8^b, *māno rúhānā áti yanty* (sc. *vrtrám*) *ápah*. The passage has been discussed in a lively fashion (and misunderstood) for about seventy years, so that it may not be amiss to recall briefly the principal points of view under which it has been treated. The Pet. Lex., under *ruh*, starts with the suggestion that its two difficult words, *māno rúhānāḥ*, mean 'etwa, ihren willen erreichend.' Grassmann, in his Lexicon, s. vs. *mānas* 18) and *rúhāṇa*, treats the passage as doubtful, but in his Translation, vol. 2, p. 34, ventures on 'lustig steigend,' explaining on p. 505 that he is taking *mānas* adverbially in the sense of *mānasā*. This idea, accepted for a time by others, more or less enthusiastically or doubtingly, seems to break down in the end thru the growing conviction that *māno* is accusative, governed by *rúhānāḥ*, which really cannot get along without an accusative. Thus Ludwig, 964 (as others after him), 'Ihn . . . ein herz sich fassend, ueberschreiten die wasser' (comparing, not very aptly, ŚB. 3. 9. 4. 14, *tā ha svam eva vaśaṁ ceruh*). In ZDMG xxxv. 717 comes Pischel's memorable emendation to *mānor úhānā(h)*, in the sense of 'flowing for Manu'; its fitness impresses, almost to this day, Oldenberg, who supports it with additional reasons in his *Rigveda Noten*, 1. 33. Geldner, in his RV. Glossary, takes *ruh* in the sense of *rudh*, 'shut off'; in connection with *mānas*, 'shut off one's heart,' 'be hard-hearted.' And finally Pischel, whose emendation has in the meantime been criticized by Ludwig, *Der Rig-Veda*, vol. 5, p. 471, gives up, reluctantly we may suppose, *mānor úhānā(h)*, and refers to the expressions *samāruruhur ātmānam*, and *jñānam ārohati prājñāḥ*, Buddhacarita 4. 24, 12. 59, which would seem to point to the meaning 'take heart,' 'determine,' for *māno ruh*.

I refrain from criticizing any of these views in the hope that mine will commend itself. The expression *māno rúhānāḥ* is primarily to be taken in its most literal sense, 'mounting their mind.' There exists a Hindu notion that the mind is the vehicle

of desire. You mount your mind or wish-car and reach your destination, that is to say, the object of your desire. From this arises a part equation between *manas* and *kāma*, so that either of them indifferently may be mounted and ridden to the goal. And, vice versa, *manas*, which is primarily merely the vehicle of desire, turns almost into a synonym of *kāma*, 'desire.' The close connection between the two words begins in RV., e. g. 8. 24. 6, *ā smā kāmaṁ jaritūr ā mānaḥ pṛṇa*, 'fulfil the desire, fulfil the mind of the poet.' As a rule, instead of this complete coordination, desire in some way depends upon mind, a fecund idea for filosofical speculation. In RV. 10. 129. 4 desire (*kāma*) is the first seed of the mind; in NṛpU. 1. 1, desire arises in the mind; in BrhU. 3. 2. 7, by means of the mind one exercises desire.

In ŚB. 2. 1. 2. 7 we have desire (*kāma*) as the vehicle. 'Under the star Rohiṇī the cattle set up their fires, thinking that they might mount the desire of men' (*kāmaṁ roheme 'ti*), i. e., obtain the same objects as men. The expression *kāmaṁ ruh* is exceptional, but the idea that the mind is the wish-car is habitual, tho not much expressed in the set frase *mano ruh*. But we have it, clearly enuf, tho in parafrase, once more in RV. 10. 85. 12, *āno manasmāyam¹ sūryādrohat prayatī pātīm*, 'Sūryā mounted her mind-car when she went forth to her husband'; cf. stanza 10. Very fitly Deussen in his Translation of KāuṣU. 3. 6 comments, 'Durch das Bewusstsein das *manas* besteigend, gelangt man durch das *manas* zu allen Gedanken (und Begierden erregenden Objekten); see *Sechzig Upanishad's des Veda*, p. 48. The same idea is stated negatively in Viṣṇusmṛti 72. 6: 'The man who rides (as it were) in a chariot drawn by his five senses and directed by his mind (as the charioteer), who keeps it on the path of the virtuous, can never be overcome by his enemies (lust, wrath, and greed).' That is to say, the man who rides upon a car of good desires will never arrive at lust, etc. See Jolly's Translation, *SBE* vii. 231. The idea is from Kaṭhop. 3. 5, and

¹ The suffix *-maya*, as I shall show elsewhere, is the word *māyā* 'semblance,' in composition. It changes into *-maya* under the influence of the much favored rythm of the iambic dīpody, which, as I have shown often, is no respecter of etymological quantities: *manasmaya*, *ayasmaya*, *aśmanmaya*, *nabhasmaya*, *mṛnmaya*, *gomaya*, *kimmaya*, etc.

correlatively MāitrU. 2. 6. In PrāṇāgU. 4 the psycho-fysical constituents of human personality are made to correspond to a sacrifice with its priests and utensils. The mind is made to correspond to the car of the sacrifice (*mano rathah*). When a car is said, in the RV., or elsewhere, to be swift, the comparison is with mind, of all swift things, *manojavas*, *manojū*, or even *manaso javīyān*; cf. Kenop. 1, *keneṣitaṁ patati preṣitaṁ manah*.

Out of this batch of ideas, not too extensive nor over definite, develops at some later time the compound *manoratha* 'desire.' I cannot quote this word earlier than the epics, which means a certain break in the tradition of its development. This may account for the Pet. Lex.'s unfortunate assumption in its behalf of a word *ratha* in the sense of 'desire' (so also tentatively for *rathaspati*, and partly for *rathajit*). Since the accent of the word is not reported, we may only guess that it was *mānoratha*, *bahuvrīhi*, 'having the mind for its car,' i. e., *kāma*. This reflects perfectly the Vedic idea, that he who desires uses the swift mind as a car to travel to the wish goal. Thus RV. 1. 32. 8^b means 'The waters, mounting their mind as wish-car (i. e. obtaining the opportunity to practise their desire), pass over (prostrate) Vṛtra.'

There come to mind the enigmatic epithets *rathajit* and *rāthajiteyā* of the Apsarases, or heavenly nymphs, in AV. 6. 130. 1. It would seem that *ratha* is here brachylogy for what is later *manoratha*, and that *rathajit* means 'surpassing desire,' *rāthajiteyā* 'born of (Apsaras) surpassing desire.' Roth, *pace* his misleading derivation of *ratha* from *√ram* 'love,' was not a long way from this interpretation, when he rendered in Pet. Lex. 2. *rathajit* by 'Zuneigung gewinnend, liebreizend,' but what he says on the subject is made nugatory by his derivation of *ratha* in the sense of 'love' from *ram*, 'to love.'

BRIEF NOTES

A Library of Ancient Inscriptions

The Yale University Press has announced the preparation by Semitic scholars of a Series to be known as 'A Library of Ancient Semitic Inscriptions' in transliteration and translation.

The tentative list of subjects and authors given below shows that it will be distinctively an American enterprise. It is fully expected that several of the volumes will appear in 1920.

North Semitic Inscriptions: C. C. Torrey, Yale Univ.

South Arabian Inscriptions: J. A. Montgomery, Univ. of Pennsylvania.

Sumerian and Akkadian Royal Inscriptions: G. A. Barton, Bryn Mawr Coll.

Inscriptions of Gudea: I. M. Price, Univ. of Chicago.

Babylonian Royal Inscriptions: T. J. Meek, Meadville Seminary.

Assyrian Historical Inscriptions (To Ashur-nirari): D. D. Luckenbill, Univ. of Chicago.

Assyrian Historical Inscriptions (Tiglath-Pileser IV to Sennacherib): A. T. Olmstead, Univ. of Illinois.

Assyrian Historical Inscriptions (Esarhaddon to end): J. Hoschander, Dropsie Coll.

Sumerian Hymns and Ritualistic Texts. Part 1: J. D. Prince, Columbia Univ.

Sumerian Hymns and Ritualistic Texts. Part 2: M. Jastrow and H. F. Lutz, Univ. of Pennsylvania.

Sumerian Cosmogony and Lamentation Texts: E. Chiera, Univ. of Pennsylvania.

Gilgamesh Epic and Other Assyro-Babylonian Legends: P. Haupt, Johns Hopkins Univ.

Tammuz and Ishtar Texts: W. F. Albright, Johns Hopkins Univ.

Omen and Astrological Texts: M. Jastrow, Univ. of Pennsylvania.

Incantation and Medical Texts: H. F. Lutz, Univ. of Pennsylvania.

Babylonian Hymns and Prayers to the Gods: M. I. Hussey, Mount Holyoke Coll.

Letters of the Early Babylonians: L. Waterman, Univ. of Michigan.

Amarna Letters: S. A. B. Mercer, Western Theological Seminary.
Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian Letters: S. C. Ylvisaker, Luther Coll.

Babylonian Boundary Stones, Charters and Grants: W. J. Hinke, Auburn Seminary.

Sumerian Contracts: C. E. Keiser, Yale Univ.

First Dynasty Contracts: E. M. Grice, Yale Univ.

Assyrian Contracts: G. S. Duncan, American Univ.

Neo-Babylonian Contracts: R. P. Dougherty, Goucher Coll.

Contracts of the Persian and Greek Periods and Legal Codes: A. T. Clay, Yale Univ.

Ascalabotes fascicularis in old Babylonian medicine

K 9283 is proof of old Babylonian applied zoology. It is a fragment bearing the particular Babylonian writing of three columns in mutilated condition. The reverse bears a few signs of the third column. It resembles medieval European texts of similar contents. The medieval texts mentioned principally in this regard: mad dog, snake, gecko (*stellio*) and spider. The spider is an evident substitute for the Babylonian scorpion. The Babylonian superstitious texts deal much with the appearance and locomotion of scorpions.

K 9283 contains in the first column remedies. The second column tells of the venomous animals, against which they may be useful. The third column gives the advice for application.

The lines 1 to 4 and 11 show the mad dog, the lines 5 to 11 the snake and 14 to 16 the scorpion. The lines 12 to 13 concern evidently the gecko (*Ascalabotes fascicularis*). The cuneiform sign is the Sumerian *MIR*. It is pronounced in Accadian language: *agû*, 'crown,' *izzu*, 'powerful' and *agâgu*, 'to be angry.' The animal may have been called *igigu* in Accadian and *mir* in Sumerian. The classic Romans called it *stellio*. The medieval language of southern Europe adopted the name *gecko* loaned from the Arabians. *Gecko* is apparently a derivative of supposed Accadian *igigu*. *Igigu*, i. e. the choleric animal, was a very fitting name for this animal, which is very excitable and is ready to fight with others of his species as well as with other beings. The hurt of a gecko was called 'stroke of the gecko.' This is exactly what the old Romans and medieval people believed; the gecko was believed to be very venomous and able

to hurt by a poisonous paw stroke. Many species of gecko are known. *Ascalabotes fascicularis* of modern zoology is particularly concerned.

The northern European medieval superstition has often substituted the salamander for the gecko. The salamander appears as incarnation of subordinate deities of the earth. He sometimes watches the ores of the earth according to superstitious belief. In other cases the toad is the European substitute for the gecko.

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The names of God in Tamil

The Reverend J. S. Chandler, of Sunnyside, Rayapettah, Madras, reports that he has nearly finished his monumental Tamil Lexicon, and hopes that it will be complete before the end of 1920. Mr. Chandler visited this country in 1915, traveling about in the interests of his great work, and visiting most of the leading Indologists of the country, who will surely be interested to hear of the approaching completion of his labors.

Mr. Chandler also sends some remarks on the names for God in Tamil. Many of these names are Sanskrit loan-words, but many others are pure Tamil, while some compound names are made up of both Sanskrit and Tamil elements. The meanings of the names show the great variety of aspect which is to be expected in any Indian vernacular. Some are pantheistic (the One, the Absolute, the Self-existent, etc.); others deal with God's attributes in negative or positive terms, and with His relation to the world as Creator, Ruler, Helper, Light, etc. It may be said that the meanings run the gamut of the conceptions of Deity familiar to students of Hinduism in general.

The 'root' myakṣ in the Rīg Veda

The lexical definitions of *myakṣ* are hopeless, but Whitney, in his *Roots* etc., does put a judicious question mark after 'be situated.' The nearest of kin is Av.-*myāsaitē* (duo inter se miscuit, i. e. sese coniungunt, unite). The root was *mē(i)-k¹*: Skr. *miśrā*, lengthened from *mēi* (to mix one thing with another, exchange) in Lat. *mūto mūtūus*. In *myās-my* comes from the interplay of a lost **myati* (: *mēi* as Sk. *dyāti*: *dēi*) on forms of *mās*. In

Skr. *myakṣ* we have an *s*-extension of Indo-Iranian *myāk'*. For *ā* we may provisionally cite Wackernagel, *AI. Gram.* § 5a.—The root *mēi* is also to be written with *ě*.

The Rigvedic usage of *myakṣ*, to adopt a classification somewhat after Griffith, whose translation of the Rig Veda is often a judicious compromise between the versions of Ludwig and Grassmann (hopelessly wrong for *myakṣ*), is as follows:

A. Sense approximate to 'cling close,' i. e. *se* commiscere, coniungere (to mix with or in) :

1.167.3^a *mimyakṣa yēṣu* = commiscuit <se> in quibus (has joined or united with).

5.58.5^d *svāyā matyā marútaḥ sām mimikṣuḥ* = suā mente M. <se> coniungunt (are united with; Griffith, cling firm).

6.29.2^a *ā yāsmīn hāste nāryā mimikṣuḥ* = in cuiā manu homines <se> miscuerunt (have joined, grouped themselves).

6.50.5^a *mimyakṣa yēṣu rodasī* = <se> commiscuit (has joined) in quibus R.

B. Slightly different shadings in Griffith.

1.165.1^{ab} *kāyā śubhā . . . Marútaḥ sām mimikṣuḥ* = quo splendore M. <se> commiscuerunt (Griffith, are jointly invested; rather = sese ornarunt, cf. 1.87.6, below).

1.169.3^a *ām(i) yak sā ta indra ṛṣṭir asmé* = commiscebat <se> (i. e. took part; Griffith, sat firm) illa tua-hasta nobis (i. e. nostrā causā). But note that *misceo* and *μίσσω* often = pugnare.

6.11.5^c *āmyakṣi sādma sādane prthivyāḥ* = commiscebat <se> (Griffith, firm is based; rather est coniuncta, or touches) ara in sede terreā.

10.44.2^b *mimyakṣa vājro nṛpate gābhastāu* = miscuit <se> (i. e. was clutched; Griffith, firmly grasped) fulmen—in palmā.

C. Miscellaneous.

2.28.6^a *āpo sū myakṣa varuṇa bhiyāsam māt* = [a] bene seiunge (i. e. disjoin, separate)-terrorem <a> me.

1.87.6^a *śriyāse kām bhānūbhīḥ sām mimikṣire* = splendoris gratiā radiis <se> commiscuerunt. Ennius is cited for *templa commixta* (i. e. ornata) stellis.

In conclusion I add that the root *mē(i)k¹* (to mix), in its weakest grade *mək¹*, appears in the sept of *μάσσει* with the specialized sense of 'to knead'; and it appears in reduplication (with *k*, not *k¹*) in Lith. *mànktyti*. I believe with Pedersen (*KZ* 36. 76 sq.) that IE. *ə* was an *a*-sound, and here raise the question whether in *mē(i)k¹*: *mak* one of the conditions (*ē:a*) for the variation *k¹*: *k* manifests itself.

EDWIN W. FAY

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A New Babylonian Parallel to a Part of Genesis 3

Babylonian parallels to parts of the story of Genesis 2 and 3 have been known for some years. For example the creation of man from the dust of the earth by Yahweh is paralleled by the creation of Engidu from clay in the first tablet of the Gilgamesh-epic. The account of Adam and Eve eating of the forbidden fruit and so failing of immortality is in a way paralleled by the Adapa myth in which Ea by deceit prevented Adapa from eating of certain food and thus failing to obtain immortality.

Other elements of the Biblical account are now made accessible to scholars in the second tablet of the Gilgamesh epic published by Langdon (S. Langdon, *The Epic of Gilgamesh*, Philadelphia, 1917). In the Biblical story Adam and Eve ate of the forbidden fruit, became conscious that they were naked, after which Yahweh made for them coats of skin and clothed them. It has been recognized by several scholars that the forbidden fruit was probably sexual intercourse (cf. the writer's *Semitic Origins*, p. 93 ff.). In col. ii of the tablet published by Langdon, Engidu, whom the goddess Aruru had created from clay, is represented as a wild man who consorted with animals. He was nude, his body was covered with hair, and he was utterly uncivilized. A hierodule of Ishtar went to him, threw aside her garments and displayed her charms. Engidu was won from the company of his animals and cohabited with her for six days and seven nights. The hierodule then persuaded Engidu to return with her to Erech, and, before the poem tells of the start for the city, we read (col. ii, 27 ff.) :

She stripped off one garment
She clothed him with it;
With another garment
Herself she clothed.

As in the Biblical story, knowledge brought by a realization of sex was followed by the assumption of clothing. We thus have another element of the Biblical narrative supplied by Babylonian story.

GEORGE A. BARTON

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PERSONALIA

PROFESSOR W. MAX MÜLLER, of the University of Pennsylvania, died suddenly July 12, aged 57 years. He had almost completed reading the proofs of the third volume of his *Egyptological Researches* for the Carnegie Institute. He also left complete notes for a revised edition in English of his *Asien und Europa*, and in such a condition that it is hoped that it can be published.

DIRECTOR WILLIAM H. WORRELL and PROFESSOR ALBERT T. CLAY, of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem, arrived in London in July, and have since been in active conference with the scholars and patrons interested in the proposed British School of Archaeology in Palestine. The difficulties of travel to the Orient are very great, but the two scholars hope to reach Jerusalem in October. They report that the British School has been very generously underwritten. Its Director will be PROFESSOR JOHN GARSTANG, of the University of Liverpool.

An initial expedition of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (see for its programme *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, the current volume, pp. 196 ff.) will be undertaken this winter. The Director, PROFESSOR JAMES H. BREASTED, sailed for England in August and from there plans to go to Egypt for the winter to study the archaeological situation. In the spring he will be joined by PROFESSOR DANIEL D. LUCKENBILL, MR. LUDLOW S. BULL, and MR. WILLIAM F. EDGERTON, of the University of Chicago, and they will make a rapid archaeological survey of Syria, Assyria, and Mesopotamia.

The address of REV. GEORGES S. KUKHI is Care of Prof. Ibrahim Zaky, Darb Mustafa, Haret el-Hariry, 2, Cairo, Egypt.

The REV. DR. JOHN P. PETERS has accepted election to the Professorship of the New Testament at the University of the South. He has been given an extended leave of absence and plans to devote the coming year to a journey in the Near East, especially Palestine and Mesopotamia.

PROFESSOR CRAWFORD HOWELL TOY, of Harvard University, died at Cambridge, Mass. on May 12, in his 84th year.

A SHORT PHYSIOGNOMIC TREATISE IN THE SYRIAC LANGUAGE

GIUSEPPE FURLANI

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UP to now only one physiognomic treatise in the Syriac language has been made public.

It forms the XXth chapter of the *Laughable Stories* collected by Mâr Gregory John Bar Hebraeus, and has been published on pp. 149-156 of the edition of this last named work, by E. A. Budge (London, 1897) ; an English version is to be found on pp. 177-185 of the same book. Morales had published previously some extracts also of this chapter of the *Laughable Stories*, from the Syriac MS. 173 of the Vatican Library in *ZDMG* 40, pp. 410-456. In this MS. the chapter bears the title ܐܘܬܐܪ ܒܥܬܐ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ, which the editor translates simply with *Physiognomistische Zeichen*. In the edition of Budge the title runs ܐܘܬܐܪ ܒܥܬܐ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ. Another MS. has ܐܘܬܐܪ ܒܥܬܐ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ.

The treatise does not correspond to any of the physiognomic tracts in the Greek, Latin, and Arabic languages collected and published by R. Foerster in *Scriptores physiognomici Graeci et Latini*, Lipsiae 1892, I-II volumes. However it shows a certain resemblance to the treatise attributed by Foerster to Pseudo-Polemon (ed. Foerster, *l.c.*, v. I, p. 298-426).

The divergence between the two treatises lies in the different length. Besides that we must remark that the Syriac tract is most probably a translation from an Arabic treatise, which in its turn has been translated from some Greek or Byzantine original, now lost ; as only the treatises collected by Foerster have survived. There is no doubt, therefore, that through this physiognomic treatise, embodied in Bar Hebraeus' renowned work on witticism, we are able to reconstruct a new type of Greek physiognomic tract, which bears a certain resemblance to Pseudo-Polemon, and represents, in my opinion, a state anterior to that of the author just mentioned.

I have found another physiognomic treatise in the Syriac language on ff. 9^a and 9^b of the Syriac MS. or 5442 of the British Museum (G. Margoliouth, *Descriptive List of Syriac and Karshuni MSS. in the British Museum acquired since 1873*, London, 1899, p. 49).

[illegible]

2. *significatio, notificatio, indicatio, narratio, notitia, demonstratio*;
3. *consuetudo, familiaritas*;
4. *catalogus, index*;
5. *praedicatio*.

It would be, therefore, very tempting to give to ܐܘܪܝܬܐ the meaning of *significatio, notificatio*, etc., but similar treatises of astrological and palmomantical content have almost always ܐܘܪܝܬܐ corresponding exactly to σημασαι or σημειώσεις.

Brockelmann (*Lexicon Syriacum* 145) registers also the meaning *portentum*, quoting the Syriac version of Pseudo-Callisthenes, ed. Budge, 1899, pp. 8-17.

Brockelmann's quotation, however, is incorrect. ܐܘܪܝܬܐ in the passage cited must be corrected. We have to read ܐܘܪܝܬܐ, that is ὑποταγή of the Greek original. See *l.c.* p. 50 note. *Portent* in the translation of Budge is the English version of ܐܘܪܝܬܐ and not of ܐܘܪܝܬܐ.

2. ܐܘܪܝܬܐ ܐܘܪܝܬܐ. I think that ܐܘܪܝܬܐ referred to a picture in the manuscript.

2. ܐܘܪܝܬܐ, the MS. has ܐܘܪܝܬܐ(?).
3. ܐܘܪܝܬܐ, MS. ܐܘܪܝܬܐ.
6. ܐܘܪܝܬܐ, MS. ܐܘܪܝܬܐ.
11. ܐܘܪܝܬܐ, MS. ܐܘܪܝܬܐ(?).
15. MS. ܐܘܪܝܬܐ, perhaps ܐܘܪܝܬܐ, but I do not see what meaning ܐܘܪܝܬܐ can have in this context.
16. ܐܘܪܝܬܐ ܐܘܪܝܬܐ, MS. ܐܘܪܝܬܐ ܐܘܪܝܬܐ.
16. ܐܘܪܝܬܐ, MS. ܐܘܪܝܬܐ.
1. ܐܘܪܝܬܐ, MS. ܐܘܪܝܬܐ.
6. MS. ܐܘܪܝܬܐ, I am not able to suggest a correction.
7. ܐܘܪܝܬܐ, MS. ܐܘܪܝܬܐ.
8. ܐܘܪܝܬܐ, MS. ܐܘܪܝܬܐ.
6. ܐܘܪܝܬܐ, MS. ܐܘܪܝܬܐ.

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[The Editors have also to thank Professor Gottheil for preparing the manuscript for the press.]

A DEMOTIC FOLK-TALE THE BASIS OF GOETHE'S 'DER ZAUBERLEHRLING'

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THIS CURIOUS and significant ballad, which Goethe wrote about the same time that he produced 'Die Braut von Korinth' (4-6 June, 1797) and 'Der Gott und die Bajadere' (9 June, 1797), is exactly paralleled by the prose story from Lucian's *Philopseudes*¹ (§ § 33-37), *Φιλοψευδῆς ἡ Ἀπιστών*.

Düntzer² has pointed out that the plot of 'Die Braut von Korinth' strongly resembles the fragmentary ghost-story which begins the *Περὶ Θαυμασίων* of Phlegon of Tralles,³ and the origin of 'Der Gott und die Bajadere' is manifestly a legend concerning Indra, for whom Goethe substitutes Śiva⁴ (Mahādeva = Śiva). So we should not hesitate to look far afield for the strange story which Goethe has versified in 'Der Zaublerlehrling.'

In the following comparison I have written opposite the German verses of the ballad some of the most obvious analogies from the Greek prose tale. A careful perusal of the two texts will convince any reader that they treat of exactly the same topic. The number of textual correspondences could easily be increased and the stories are certainly the same.

As can be ascertained from the early part of Lucian's narrative this usually well-informed writer derives the anecdote from Egypt. From works like *Περὶ τῆς Συρίας Θεοῦ* we see that Lucian was a deep student of folk-lore and an accurate one. There is no reason to doubt him here despite his own scepticism as to supernatural matters. The raconteur of the Greek story tells us he experienced the adventures related as a young man, while travelling in Egypt to broaden his mind.

¹ Ed. Teubner, 1896, 3. 117-119.

² *Erläuterungen zu den deutschen Klassikern*, von Heinrich Düntzer: Goethes Balladen und Gedichte.

³ *Historiarum Mirabilium Scriptores*, Johannes Meursius, Elzevir edition, Leyden 1622. Phlegon ed. Xylander. Sub init. text. Phleg.

⁴ A. F. J. Remy, *Influence of India and Persia on the Poetry of Germany*. N. Y. 1901. Pp. 20 f.

He went up the Nile to Coptos after 'taking in' the vocal colossi of Memnon, and was doubtless prepared for anything after experiencing the then inexplicable effects of the sun's rays on the eroded granite or diorite of the mighty images. A man from Memphis, clean shaven, in scrupulously neat linen, intellectual, speaking barbarous Greek, falls in with the hero on the river-boat. Our young friend has heard tall tales as to the wondrous doings of this 'sacred priest' (*ιερογραμματεὺς*) or scribe. He is said to have mastered all the lore of Egypt, to have lived years in the subterranean shrines, and to have been specially instructed by Isis. His name is Παγκρατής, probably Greek for something like Neb-Sekhem, 'lord of power,' 'all powerful.' He swims unharmed among the crocodiles, straddles them in the water, and they fawn about him like pet dogs. For they as well as he are sacred to Sebk, Khons or Khnum, lord of the cool waters.

Gradually priest and tourist become acquainted and the former reveals the arcana of Egyptian cosmogony to the latter. Then he invites the young man to his subterranean cell, urging him to leave all the servants behind in Memphis as they will not need them in his subterranean abode. Then the *hocus-pocus* immortalized by Goethe begins. The hierophant takes the bolt of the door of the underground dwelling, the broom or the pestle, decks it out with rags, pronounces an incantation and lo! we have a perfectly good hewer of wood and drawer of water, waiter, or what not, who serves us noiselessly and swiftly.

Despite the priest's jealousy our hero learns part of the incantation (it is trisyllabic) and, when the master is out, determines to try his power. He repeats the syllables over the pestle or broom decked out as described, and the water-carrier works with vim, until the inundation threatens to sweep the house or dwelling away. Now, as in Goethe, he tries to stop the zealous automaton, but, not knowing the counter-charm, his words have no effect. He becomes excited and tries violence, seizing an ax and splitting the automaton in two. This method of 'simple fission' multiplies the malign activity of the object just as in the case of a bacillus. Two inundators in place of one! But lo! the master returns in time, perceives the situation, reverses the charm with the virtuosity of a true wizard, and vanishes into thin air.

The above is a free paraphrase of Lucian's story. A study of the Greek text and the German ballad will demonstrate the legitimacy of a close comparison. Critical elements, like the absence of the master, the decking out of the broom in rags, the man-like automaton, fetching and carrying, the inundation, the assault with the ax, the intervention of the master are common to Lucian and Goethe and prove that the plot is the same.

Now in the demotic stories of Khamuas (edited by Griffiths),⁵ the voyages up the Nile from Memphis to Coptos, where is the great temple of Isis and Harpoerates as well as the numerous tombs, figure largely, while the magical performances of Setne, Ne-Nefer-ka-Ptah and other characters in this region are as improbable as the adventure of Lucian's raconteur which has been made familiar to the modern world by Goethe.

Among other things Setne gradually sinks into the earth after losing his game to Ne-Nefer-ka-Ptah, Ahure vanishes, the Ethiopian wizard and Negress cause the heavens to turn blood-red, a great block of granite floats over the head of Pharaoh, etc., reminding one of Moses and the wizards. After the Ethiopian has produced flames in the palace, for instance, Hor, the son of Paneshe, brings on an inundation to extinguish them.

At the time of writing I have not been able to investigate the great Demotic Corpus of Spiegelberg⁶ but I have no doubt from the above story from Lucian that some Demotic scholar will unearth a magical text treating of the automaton-theme at the basis of Goethe's ballad. It has been my intention here only to call attention to the probable provenience of the magical legend handled so wonderfully by Goethe. The comparison with Lucian's story is new as far as I know. As to the trisyllabic incantation, we learn from Erman⁷ and Reitzenstein⁸ that such formulas as Serapis, Sokar (Demotic from Skr. god of silence), were common in Demotic incantations.

⁵ F. L. Griffiths, *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis*; second story, sub fin.

⁶ Spiegelberg, *Demotische Studien*, contains among other things fragments of a demotic *Volkepos* strongly reminiscent in parts of the Homeric poems (so-called 'Petubastis Cycle').

⁷ Erman, *Geschichte Aegyptens*, p. 123.

⁸ Reitzenstein, *Panmdres*, e. g., p. 98, 104, 151-5. etc.

Der Zauberlehrling.

Hat der alte Hexenmeister
Sich doch einmal wegbegeben!
Und nun sollen seine Geister
Auch nach meinen Willen leben.

καὶ ὁ μὲν ᾤχετο

Seine Wort' und Werke
Merk' ich und den Brauch,
Und mit Geistesstärke
Tu' ich Wunder auch.

μὲν δὲ ποτε ἡμέρᾳ λαθὼν ἐπήκουσα τῆς
ἐπωδῆς, ἣν δὲ τρισύλλαβος, σχεδὸν ἐν
σκοτεινῷ ὑποστάς.

Und nun komm, du alter Besen,
Nimm die schlechten Lumpenhüllen!
Bist schon lange Knecht gewesen;
Nun erfülle meinen Willen!

τὸν μοχλὸν τῆς θύρας ἢ τὸ κόρηθρον ἢ καὶ
τὸ ὑπερον περιβαλὼν ἱματίοις ἐπειπὼν
τινα ἐπωδὴν ἐποίει βαδίζειν τοῖς ἀλλοῖς
ἅπασιν ἀνθρώπων εἶναι δοκοῦντα.

Auf zwei Beinen stehe,
Oben sei ein Kopf!
Eile nun und gehe
Mit dem Wassertopf!

Soll das ganze Haus ersaufen?
Seh' ich über jede Schwelle
Doch schon Wasserströme laufen.
Ein verruchter Besen,
Der nicht hören will!
Stock, der du gewesen,

ἐπικλυσθῆναι τὴν οἰκίαν ἐπαντλουμένην.

. . . τὸ δὲ οὐκέτι μοι πείθεσθαι ἤθελεν . . .

κόρηθρον τὸ κόρηθρον, κτλ.

Mit dem scharfen Beile spalten.
Seht, da kommt er schleppend wieder!
Wie ich mich nur auf dich werfe,
Gleich, o Kobold, liegst du nieder;
Krachend trifft die glatte Schärfe.
Wahrlich, brav getroffen!
Seht, er ist entzwei!
Und nun kann ich hoffen,
Und ich atme frei!

ἀξίνην λαβὼν διακόπτω τὸ ὑπερον εἰς δύο
μέρη· τὰ δέ, ἐκάτερον τὸ μέρος, ἀμφορέας
λαβόντα ὑδροφόρει καὶ ἀνθ' ἐνὸς δύο μοί
ἐγένοντο ὑδροφόροι. ἐν τούτῳ καὶ ὁ Πάγ-
κράτης

Wehe! wehe!
Beide Teile
Stehn in Eile
Schon als Knechte
Völlig fertig in die Höhe!

'In die Ecke,
Besen! Besen!
Seid's gewesen.
Denn als Geister
Ruft euch nur, zu seinem Zwecke,
Erst hervor der alte Meister.'

ἐφίσταται καὶ συνκίς τὸ γενόμενον ἐκεῖνα
μὲν αὐθις ἐποίησε ξύλα, ὥσπερ ἦν πρὸ τῆς
ἐπωδῆς, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀπολιπὼν με λαθὼν οὐκ
οἶδ' ὅποι ἀφανῆς ᾤχετο ἀπῴων.

PORTRAIT PAINTING AS A DRAMATIC DEVICE IN SANSKRIT PLAYS

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JUDGING FROM THE MANY INSTANCES of portrait painting in Sanskrit literature, the art was apparently a very common accomplishment. It is interesting to examine the extensive use to which it has been put as a dramatic device in the plays. Kālidāsa employs it in Śakuntalā and Mālavikāgnimitra; Bhavabhūti, in Mālatīmādhava and the Uttara-rāma-carita, Harṣa in Ratnāvalī and Nāgānanda, and Rājaśekhara in Viddhaśālībhañjikā.

In Mālavikāgnimitra¹ the actual episode of the painted portrait takes place the day before the play opens, but the retelling of the occurrence by one maid to another serves to introduce the plot which is in most part developed from it. The previous day the Queen had gone to the picture-gallery to inspect a recently finished picture which had been painted by a court painter. It was a group, the Queen surrounded by her attendants, among them Mālavikā. As the Queen is looking at the picture the King comes into the room and seats himself beside her. When he sees Mālavikā in the picture he asks, 'What is the name of the girl, that I have not seen before, standing near you in the picture?' The Queen pays no attention to him and he repeats his question. Still she does not answer, but her young sister finally volunteers the information that it is Mālavikā. The King makes a mental note of this fact, and the Queen very shortly has cause to regret ever having had the picture painted.

In Śakuntalā² the purpose of the painting is quite different, and yet it serves to assist in the reuniting of the King and his lost beloved. In Act 6, Sānumatī, a nymph, is sent by Śakuntalā's celestial mother to discover the real state of the King's

¹ Tr. C. H. Tawney, 2d ed. (1891), pp. 3-5. Tr. G. R. Nandargikar (1879), pp. 2-3. Ed. K. P. Parab (1890), pp. 5-6. Ed. Śrī Vani Vilas, Sanskrit Series No. 5 (1908), pp. 7-10.

² Tr. Monier Williams, 2d ed. (1885), pp. 155-60. Tr. and ed. P. N. Patankar (1889), pp. 271-89. Ed. N. B. Gadabole and K. P. Parab, 3d ed. (1891), pp. 208-17.

feelings. The King, in his despair over the loss of Śakuntalā, has painted a portrait of her as he first saw her at the hermitage. The nymph makes herself invisible and watches his actions and listens to his lamenting as he gazes upon the portrait. There is no doubt in the nymph's mind after this scene, and we have every reason to think that upon her report to the mother of Śakuntalā that celestial lady was quite willing that her daughter should again be united to her husband.

In Act 2 of *Ratnāvalī*³ the heroine, Sāgarikā, paints the portrait of the King on a tablet in order to soothe her secret longings for his love. One of the Queen's maids, who is a friend of Sāgarikā, discovers her with the picture and in turn paints her portrait beside that of the King. The two girls are frightened away by a monkey and in their haste leave the painted tablet in the summerhouse. A little later it is found by the King and the Vidūshaka and, of course, the King is at once smitten with overpowering love. The Queen, unfortunately for the lovers, has selected just this time to come to the summer-house. The Vidūshaka hides the tablet under his garment and later drops it in front of the Queen, pretending it is an accident. The Queen sees the two portraits and takes in the whole situation at a glance. Her anger brings a train of events which finally result in the imprisonment of the heroine till the end of the play. Then it is revealed that she is of high birth and may legitimately marry the King.

The portrait is almost the cause of a tragedy in Act 2 of the *Nāgānanda*.⁴ The heroine, concealed behind an aśoka tree near a sandal-creeper, sees the Prince, with whom she has fallen so violently in love, drawing a portrait upon a moonstone seat. The Prince talks to the Vidūshaka of his love for the maiden he has drawn, and the heroine, thinking he has placed his affections upon some other maiden, tries to hang herself with the end of a creeper. The Prince hears the cries of a serving maid and reaches the spot in time. When he learns of the attempted suicide he leads the heroine to the moonstone seat and shows her her own portrait, which quite convinces her of his love.

³ Tr. and ed. Sri Chandra Chakravarti (1902), pp. 95-191.

⁴ Tr. Palmer Boyd (1872), pp. 29-37. Tr. and ed. Pundit Nobin Chundra Vidyaratna (1878), pp. 114-38.

We have two portraits in *Mālatīmādhava*.⁵ Each of the lovers is portrayed by the other.

The fathers of the youth and maiden have been life-long friends and have agreed that when their children grow up they shall be united in marriage. When the play opens the King has just demanded of his minister, *Mālatī*'s father, that the girl be given in marriage to his favorite. In order not to incur the displeasure of his sovereign, the father, with the help of the girl's nurse, devises a plan whereby the youthful pair may be thrown together and fall in love of their own accord. Then by seeming to comply with the King's command he hopes to force *Mālatī* and *Mādhava* into a marriage without his consent. In this way he will be blameless in the King's eyes.

As *Mālatī*'s nurse, who is a Buddhist priestess, is also *Mādhava*'s preceptress, this plan is comparatively easy. *Mādhava* is sent frequently on errands past *Mālatī*'s home. They see each other and the attraction is mutual, but each is ignorant of the state of the other's feelings. *Mālatī* paints a picture of the youth to console herself. Her foster sister, who is in the scheme of the father and nurse, manages to have the picture shown to *Mādhava* by his servant. He cannot doubt the reason for *Mālatī*'s making the portrait and is easily persuaded by his friend to paint one of her. When a maid comes to demand the return of the picture made by *Mālatī*, the one *Mādhava* has just painted is given her instead. She takes this to her mistress and the understanding is complete. The trials do not end here but the portraits have served to assure the lovers that their love is mutual.

Even in the *Uttara-rāma-carita*⁶ where, at first thought, we should scarcely expect it, we find painting used, quite differently, it is true, but still in a definite way as a device. It is through seeing the experiences of *Rāma* and herself portrayed upon the walls of the garden, that *Sītā* becomes filled with longing to wander in the forest and bathe in the Ganges. Thus, through this journey to satisfy her longing, her exile is easily accomplished.

⁵ Tr. H. H. Wilson, vol. 2, 3d ed., pp. 17-32. Ed. Mangesh Rāmākrishna Telang (1892), pp. 17-48, 57-9.

⁶ Tr. H. H. Wilson, vol. 1, 3d ed., pp. 295-306.

In the Viddha-śālabhañjikā⁷ of Rājasekhara the King sees a beautiful maiden in a dream, or rather sees her in his apartment and thinks he is dreaming. The next morning, to calm his mind distracted by the vividness of the supposed dream, the Vidūshaka takes him to the picture gallery. There he sees two portraits and a statue of the maiden he beheld the night before. He believes now that the dream-maiden is real, and sets about to find her.

The three plays, Vikramorvaśī, Mṛcchakaṭikā and Karpūramañjarī have each a mention of a portrait, but they are not used as a dramatic device.

In Vikramorvaśī⁸ the Vidūshaka suggests to the King that he paint a portrait of the nymph, but the King replies that it would do no good as his eyes are so filled with tears that he could not see it.

At the beginning of Act 2 of the Mṛcchakaṭikā⁹ Vasantasenā is discovered painting a picture of Cārudatta; at the beginning of Act 4 she is discovered gazing upon it, but it is not used to develop the plot.

In Act 2 of Karpūramañjarī¹⁰ the King states that he cannot paint a picture without the heroine appearing upon it.

I have used the word painting rather broadly, as the work was not always done with brushes and wet paints, but sometimes with pieces of colored earth or a colored drawing pencil. But the verb *likh* is used when either a brush or pencil is employed for putting on the colors.

⁷ Tr. Gray, *JAOS* vol. 27, pp. 22-24.

⁸ Tr. and ed. Keshav Balkrishna Paranjpe (1898), pp. 36-7.

⁹ Tr. Arthur Williams Ryder, *Harvard Oriental Series*, vol. 9, pp. 27 and 57.

¹⁰ Tr. Konow and Lanman, *HOS* vol. 4, p. 244.

BLOOD REVENGE AND BURIAL RITES IN ANCIENT ISRAEL

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GOETHE, in speaking of laws and legal rights, says that they are transmitted from age to age like an eternal disease. I have often wondered if Goethe, were he living today, would not extend his remark to some of our most firmly rooted Biblical theories, which for over half a century have found their way from one Biblical commentary or textbook into another, without their validity ever being questioned. One of these theories pertains to the condition under which a murder is supposed to have been subject to blood-revenge. Biblical scholars have been wont to hold that in ancient Israel bloodshed called for vengeance only when the murdered person was left unburied, or, in Biblical phraseology, when his blood was left uncovered, unabsorbed by the earth. Conspicuous in the confusion caused by this erroneous view is the prevailing interpretation of Job 16. 18:

ארץ אל תכסי דמי ואל יהי מקום לזעקתי.

The first part of this verse, 'Let not earth cover my blood,' is invariably explained to mean that Job prays that, when he dies, his blood, *i. e.* his body, may be left unburied to appeal to Heaven for vengeance for his premature and unjust death. In line with this interpretation the second part of the verse is as a rule translated: 'And let my cry have no resting-place,' and is explained to mean that Job prays that his *post mortem* cry for vengeance may not be intercepted, but that it may penetrate unto God. This translation of the second half-verse, it may readily be seen, is unfounded, for in addition to the fact that the interpretation reads far more into *resting-place* than the word can possibly imply, there is the far weightier objection that **מקום** does not mean *resting-place* at all, either in Hebrew or in any of the cognate languages. The translation of the AV 'And let my cry have no place,' is decidedly superior to that adopted by the RV and the exegetes. But this is a minor point compared with the fact that, even if the notion on which

the prevailing interpretation of the verse is based were a real, instead of a purely imaginary one, it would have no relevancy to the case in question; for since Job was threatened, not with a violent, but with a natural death, from disease at the hand of God, it is obvious that his death, however premature and unjust, was not a case for blood-revenge. It is absurd to represent Job as appealing to God to avenge his unjust death—avenge it on whom? on God Himself? The situation would be quite different from that met with later on in the chapter where Job, praying for his vindication, appeals from the God who has mercilessly smitten him to the God of love and compassion—the God of his faith. The decisive point is that neither in Israel nor among any other people of ancient times did the notion exist that violent death called for vengeance only as long as the blood remained uncovered, or, what is the same thing, as long as the slain one was left unburied.

As in pre-Mohammedan Arabia, so in Israel, blood-revenge was sought for those slain in blood-feuds or for those deliberately murdered (and at one time also for those killed without premeditation or design), irrespective of whether the slain person was duly buried or not. Thus Joab avenged the blood of his brother Asahel on Abner after Asahel's remains had been buried.¹ Further, David on his death-bed enjoined upon Solomon to avenge the blood of Abner (slain thirty years previously), and of Amasa, on their slayer Joab (for David himself it would have been too risky a matter to seek vengeance for either of them); yet of Abner we are told that he was buried immediately after his death, and moreover that the burial ceremonies were performed by the king and the entire nation.² Note finally that in the story of Genesis about Cain's being called to account for the blood of his brother crying for vengeance, commonly quoted in support of the prevailing interpretation of Job 16. 18, the very opposite is stated, that Abel's blood had been absorbed by the earth: 'Be thou cursed from the ground which opened its mouth to receive the blood of thy brother from thy hands' (Gen. 4. 10-11).

Of the abundant proof to the same effect in Arabic literature

¹ Cf. 2 Sam. 2. 14-32; 3. 27, 30.

² Cf. 2 Sam. 3. 29 f., 31-39; 1 Ki. 2. 5 f., 31 ff.

it will suffice to mention: (1) the instances narrated in *Sirat Antar* of the custom of killing prisoners from the hostile tribe on the grave of a slain kinsman in revenge for his death.³ (2) The notion that the grave of a slain person remains dark as long as his death has not been avenged, but that when avenged it becomes bright. This notion is referred to in the following verses from *Hamāsa*:

'Abdallah, when his day of death came,
Sent his kinsmen word:
Accept no blood-money from them for my murder,
Accept neither foals nor calves from them,
That I may not be left in a dark house (*fī baiṭin muḏlimin*)
on Sa'da.⁴

(3) And finally we have to mention a notion that supplements the preceding one—a notion very common in Arabic literature—that the body of a slain person whose death has not been avenged is turned to a bird (called *hāmat*) which at night-time cries at, or from, his grave: 'Give me to drink, give me to drink!' (*viz.*, vengeance-blood), and which flies away as soon as its thirst for vengeance has been satisfied.⁵

It will be noted that the lines cited from *Hamāsa* 1, p. 106 f., mention expressly that Abdallah, whose blood-revenge is urged, rests in his grave on Sa'da. Still more explicit (to mention one of the many other examples to this effect) is the poem of Miswar ben Sijada (*ib.* p. 119 f.). The poet begins by stating

³ Cf. I. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, 1, pp. 243 f. and 245 ff. The fact that these instances suffer from exaggeration as to the number of the prisoners killed does not invalidate their bearing on the question at issue.

⁴ G. G. Freytag, *Hamasa Carmina*, 1, p. 106, v. 4; p. 107, v. 1. The proper meaning of *baiṭ* in the last verse is 'grave;' Arabic has this specific meaning of *baiṭ* in common with all other Semitic languages.

⁵ Cf. *Hamāsa*, 1, p. 453, v. 7, and Freytag's exhaustive comments on both this verse and on 400, v. 1 in vol. 2, pt. 2, p. 164 f., and p. 72, where Freytag cites Firūzābādī in elucidation of the notion underlying the death-bird called *hāmat*; cf. also 1, p. 350, v. 6, where this notion is referred to again. Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, 1. 168, and Wellhausen, *Reste des Arabischen Heidentums*, 2d ed., p. 185, confound the death-bird *hāmat*, which interests us here, with the death-bird named *ṣada*'. The latter was believed to issue from the head, or rather the brain (the seat of the soul) of a dead person after the body had decomposed.

circumstantially that his father, whose death he is determined to avenge, lies on Mt. Kuwaikib in his grave duly built of earth and stones.

The two Arabic notions mentioned a moment ago, regarding the slain whose death has not been avenged, are of importance as showing that blood-revenge among the Semites was governed by the same primitive belief as in ancient Greece—the belief that the souls of those who have met a violent death, the *βαιοθάνατοι* as they are called in late Greek literature, cannot find rest in the nether world, but are condemned to haunt the earth as wretched spirits until their death has been duly avenged on their slayers.⁶ Though we have no express statement to that effect, there can be no doubt that the same belief prevailed in Israel, the more so since there is a striking similarity between the Israelitish and Greek practices pertaining to blood-revenge, as also between the burial rites of the two countries. This similarity is not at all surprising when we remember that these rites and beliefs belong to the stock of religious notions and practices common to all nations. The differences are not essential; they pertain merely to the local coloring.

In proof of my thesis the following particulars may be pointed out. In both Greece and Israel the right, or rather the duty, of seeking blood-revenge was primarily incumbent on the next of kin of the murdered person, but in course of time it became the prerogative of the state. It is important to note, however, that the state did not exercise this right, any more, than the next of kin had done, with a view to satisfying offended justice, but solely for the purpose of appeasing the unhappy spirit of the slain one and stilling its thirst for vengeance. In both countries, the prime interest of the state in exercising control over blood-revenge was to determine whether a murder was a premeditated act of malice, or whether it was purely involuntary and accidental. As long as blood-revenge was the exclusive right of the kin of the person killed, the motive and circumstances of the homicide were negligible factors; the mere fact of being responsible, however unwittingly, for the person's death constituted a lawful case for blood-revenge, as we know

⁶ See below, p. 311.

from Homer in the case of Greece,⁷ and from the Deuteronomic and Priestly homicidal laws in the case of Israel,⁸ not to speak of the abundant evidence to the same effect in Arabian history.

To remedy this evil, the baneful consequences of which are strikingly illustrated in the continuous blood-feuds of early Arabia, the state instituted trial for murder. This meant in Greece⁹ and Israel¹⁰ alike that thenceforward the punishment for accidental homicide was temporary exile, but in the case of wilful murder and manslaughter the right to take blood-revenge was still conceded to the next of kin.¹¹ This shows that the duty of blood-revenge was as binding as ever—a conclusion which is further borne out by the regulations pertaining to homicide in the Biblical laws I mentioned a moment ago. It is specified that, if the person guilty of accidental homicide left his place of exile before the expiration of his term, the victim's next of kin might legitimately kill him.¹² And from another specification it is to be inferred that the next of kin was not held accountable if he took blood-revenge on the involuntary slayer before he surrendered to the court of justice.¹³ That in Greece, too, the kinsmen of the one accidentally slain were free to take vengeance if the slayer returned from exile before his term was up, may be deduced from the fact that at the expiration of his term they were obliged to forgive him and to permit his return to the country.¹⁴ The one point in which the Greek

⁷ See E. Rohde, *Psyche, Seelencult und Unsterblichkeitsglaube der Griechen*, 4th ed., 1. 260 f., 265.

⁸ Cf. Nu. 35. 24-27; Deut. 19. 6; Josh. 20. 3 ff.

⁹ See Rohde, *op. cit.* 1. 266.

¹⁰ See Nu. *ib.* vv. 22-25, 28; Deut. *ib.* vv. 4 f.; Josh. *ib.* vv. 2-6. Cf. also below, note 25, where it will be shown that banishment of the slayer from his home-community to one of the refuge-cities is to be classed as exile.

¹¹ See Nu. *ib.* vv. 16-21; Deut. *ib.* vv. 11-12. Of the older sources which contain evidence that taking blood-revenge was primarily the right of the next of kin, compare especially 2 Sam. 14. 6-11. In Greece the old right of the kinsmen to blood-revenge was recognized to the extent of allowing them to act as a sort of prosecuting attorney in the murder-trial; see Rohde, *op. cit.* 1. 263 ff., 265.

¹² See Nu. *ib.* vv. 26-27.

¹³ See Deut. *ib.* v. 6.

¹⁴ See Philippi, *Areopag und Epheten*, p. 115 f., and Rohde, *l. c.*

and the Hebrew homicidal law differed was that while the former allowed the kin of the person killed to grant his slayer immediate pardon and release from exile, whether with or without payment of blood-money,¹⁵ the latter interdicted this practice.¹⁶ Both laws had the same provision that in case of deliberate murder and manslaughter the crime should be expiated by the blood of the murderer; under no condition should blood-money be accepted.¹⁷ By this prohibition the older practice of accepting blood-money for wilful murder was made unlawful. This practice prevailed in the Greece of Homeric times,¹⁸ and evidently also in the Israel of preëxilic times, as may be concluded from the emphatic refusal of the Gibeonites to accept blood-money for the crime perpetrated on them by Saul.¹⁹ Arabic literature too is full of references to this practice,²⁰ which, in fact, was common to all peoples of ancient times. The motive by which the lawgivers were actuated in abolishing the older practice is expressed in the homicidal law of the Priestly Code: 'Ye shall not desecrate the land wherein ye live, for bloodshed desecrates the land; and no expiation can be made for the land for the blood shed in it except by the blood of him who shed it; nor shall ye defile the land in which ye live, wherein I abide.'²¹ It was the conse-

¹⁵ See Rohde, *op. cit.* 1. 266.

¹⁶ See Nu. *ib.* v. 32.

¹⁷ See Rohde, *op. cit.* 1. 266; Nu. *ib.* v. 31.

¹⁸ See Rohde, *op. cit.* 1. 261 f.

¹⁹ See 2 Sam. 21. 4. This is the meaning of the generally incorrectly translated *אֵין לָנוּ כֶּסֶף וְזָהָב עִם שָׂאוּל וְעִם בֵּיתוֹ* 'Silver or gold cannot appease us in our feud with Saul and his house;' note the continuation *וְאֵין לָנוּ אִישׁ אִישׁ בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל* 'nor can any man in Israel (at large) appease us;' *עִם שָׂאוּל וְעִם בֵּיתוֹ* are qualificatives of *לָנוּ*; as to another example of *אֵין לָנוּ* with similar meaning, cf. Jer. 8. 17 *נֹחַשׁ אֵין לָהֶם* 'against which no charm will avail.'

²⁰ Cf. e. g. the verses cited above, p. 305 from *Hamāsa*, 1. 106 f., also the poem referred to of Miswar b. Sijada (*ib.* 119 f.). Refusing the sevenfold blood-money offered him for his father's death by Saihdo b. Alhazi, Miswar declares that it would be disgraceful were he to accept the blood-price from him whom his filial duty demands that he kill. In a similar strain acceptance of blood-money is spoken of *Hamāsa*, 1. 105, v. 2; 106, vv. 2-3; 234, l. 22 (schol.); and 236, l. 4 (schol.).

²¹ Nu. *ib.* v. 33 f. That *הִזָּנִיתִי* means 'desecrate' or 'put the stigma of sacrilegiousness on' (the land), and not 'pollute,' follows from the

quences of unexpiated blood-guilt which the people feared in Greece and Israel alike. The whole country might be visited with calamity if bloodshed were not duly avenged. The Books of Samuel tell that the land suffered famine for three years because of Saul's unavenged murder of the Gibeonites, 2 Sam. 21. 1-6. Further light is shed on this point by Greek sources. Both in early and in later Greek literature, the belief is met with that the soul of the murdered person, prevented from entering the realm of Hades and compelled to haunt the earth, wreaks its wrath on all those who should have avenged the crime committed against it, but who did not. Greek literature is full of stories of the afflictions visited on people by those incensed spirits; their wrath was believed to remain active even for generations.²² The real import of our verses from the homicidal law of the Priestly Code will now be seen. In Israel as well as in Greece the prosecution and punishment for murder and manslaughter was at bottom a religious act.²³ The view expressed in the two verses that bloodshed defiles the land we find more explicitly stated in the works of the Greek orator Antipho: 'The *μίασμα* of blood-guilt,' he says, 'pollutes the entire city; the murderer defiles by his presence all those who sit with him at the same table or live with him under the same roof, also the sanctuaries which he enters; in consequence dearth (*ἀφορία*) and disaster (*δυστυχίης πράξεις*) will befall the city.'²⁴ Note that, as in the Biblical account of the suffering caused the land on account of Saul's blood-guilt against the Gibeonites, so in Antipho *dearth* is specifically mentioned as a consequence of unexpiated bloodshed. It is not possible here to enter into a full discussion of this idea. It can only be briefly mentioned that as in Greece, so among the Semites, the notions and practices pertaining to burial and bloodshed find their ultimate explanation in a once existent worship of

fact that the latter supplementary consequence of blood-guilt is stated in the following verse. Besides, this meaning of the Hif'il agrees far better with the meaning of the ground-form 'to be impious' and 'to be desecrated.'

²² See Rohde, *op. cit.*, 1, pp. 264 f., 269 f., 275 ff.

²³ This character of the Greek murder trial has been duly pointed out by Rohde, *op. cit.*, 1. 267-275.

²⁴ Quoted by Rohde, *op. cit.*, 1. 275, note 2.

chthonic gods, chief among whom was Gaea or Mother Earth. She was dispenser of the produce of the soil and of life in general; above all it was her province to receive back into her lap the spirits of the deceased. On all those who either directly or indirectly prevented any of her children on their death from entering her realm she (in unison with the other chthonic gods) wreaked vengeance by withholding the blessings of the soil.²⁵

We can now understand also the significance of the piacular sacrifice which, in case of an untraced murder, the Deuteronomic Law prescribed for the city nearest to the place where the body was found (Deut. 21. 1-9). The heifer was no doubt a substitute for the unknown murderer, offered at the same time to the spirit of the slain one and to the incensed god to appease their wrath. The uncultivated ravine with its perennial stream,

²⁵ For the fuller material bearing on this point, see Rohde, *op. cit.*, 1. pp. 205-212, 246 f., 272 f.; A. Dieterich, *Mutter Erde*, pp. 38 ff., 42-54, 65-69, 73-79, 83 f. When I read this paper at the meeting of the Middle West Branch of the American Oriental Society at Urbana, Ill., my attention was drawn by my friend and colleague, Prof. Morgenstern, to the fact that valuable material on this point is found also in J. G. Frazer, *Folklore in the Old Testament* (1918), 1. 79-85. Frazer remarks in regard to the curse of Cain—'Cursed be thou from the ground . . . ; when thou tillest the ground, it shall not henceforth yield unto thee its strength; a fugitive and vagrant shalt thou be on earth': 'The implication apparently is that the earth, polluted by blood and offended by his crime, would refuse to allow the seed sown by the murderer to germinate and bear fruit; nay, that it would expel him from the cultivated soil on which he had hitherto prospered, and drive him out into the barren wilderness, there to roam a houseless and hungry vagabond' (p. 82 f.). It seems to me, however, that Frazer, carries this point somewhat too far. As to the geographical limits of the expulsion from the country, in this, as well as in the other interesting parallel cases quoted by him, it is important to remember that, like all other gods, the Mother Earth-goddess (as Rohde, p. 204, and Dieterich, p. 79, point out) was primarily a mere local deity whose domain did not extend beyond the confines of any certain province or locality. And since her sphere of dominion was thus locally confined, it follows also that the banishment of an involuntary manslayer from his community to one of the refuge-cities in Israel is properly to be classed, as I have classed it above, with exile from the country. Frazer fails to see the significance of the Biblical expression, '*the blood of thy brother*,' in Gen. 4. 10, and other similar passages; and also, strange to say, he repeats the erroneous view which, owing to their misinterpretation of Job 16. 18, Ez. 24. 7-8, etc., prevails among Biblical scholars regarding blood-revenge (see p. 101 f.).

Biblical scholars rightly hold,²⁶ must at one time have been the sacred ground of a deity. Another object of the ceremony was to serve as a purification rite for the community imperilled by the murder. By their declaration that they were innocent of complicity or even of any knowledge of the crime, the elders cleared themselves of all guilt, in order to avert calamity from their community.

In proof of the second part of my thesis, the similarity of the Greek and the Hebrew, or, I might say, the Semitic, burial rites, as well as in further refutation of the prevailing interpretation of Job 16. 18, I may refer to the notion common to both Greece and Israel, that to leave a dead body unburied was a flagrant religious offense. The reason for this notion is explicitly stated in Greek literature. Like the souls of the *βαιοθάνατοι*, the souls of the *ἄταφοι*, 'unburied bodies,' it was thought, could not find rest in the nether world, but were obliged to haunt the earth, and vented their wrath on the land in which they were retained against their will. The denial of burial. Isocrates says therefore, 'is more calamitous for those who refuse it than for the bodies left unburied.'^{28a}

Equally explicit is Babylonian and Assyrian literature on this point. Among the dreaded *Utukki limnuti*, 'Evil Spirits,' which were thought to haunt mankind and to work all sorts of evil until they were laid to rest by exorcism, there figured prominently the *Ekimmu* or 'Departed Spirits.' There were three distinct classes of *Ekimmu*: (a) spirits compelled to return from the nether world to earth because their descendants ceased making offerings and libations to them; (b) spirits of those that met with a violent or premature²⁷ death; (c) and spirits of unburied bodies (of special interest to us at this point), which are spoken of in the following texts:²⁸

²⁶ Cf. among others A. Bertholet, *Deuteronomium*, p. 65; B. Stade, *Biblische Theologie des Alten Testaments*, p. 107.

^{28a} Isoer. 14. 55. See Rohde, *op. cit.* 1. 217, 2. 83 f., 412 f.

²⁷ In Greece too those that met with an untimely death, *ἄωποι*, shared the fate of the *βαιοθάνατοι* and the *ἄταφοι*. See Rohde, *op. cit.*, 2. 83, 411 ff.

²⁸ See R. C. Thompson, *The Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia*, 1, pp. xxvii-xxxii, 39 f.; M. Jastrow, *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, 1. 358 f., 371 ff. My translations of the cited texts are based on their German rendering by Jastrow.

‘Whether it be one (*i. e.* an Ekimmu) that was cast out in
the open field,
Whether it be one that was cast out in the open field and
was not covered with earth, . . .
Whether it be one that on a boat met death in the water,²⁹
Whether it be an unburied Ekimmu;’

(Incantation) ‘Against him that was thrown in a ditch,
 . . .³⁰
Uncovered by a grave,
Against a ghost that has not obtained rest,
(The body) of which was cast out without being covered,
Whose head was not covered with earth,
The king’s son (or the person) that lies in the open field,
Or that was cast out on a heap of debris,
Against the hero who was slain with the sword.’

And in the conclusion of the epic of Gilgamesh we read:

‘He whose body was cast out in the open field—
Thou and I have seen such—
His spirit cannot find rest in the earth.’

The *Utukki limnuti* literature of Babylonia and Assyria shows, as Jastrow rightly emphasizes, ‘that an unburied body was considered to be not only a curse to the deceased person, but also a peril to the living. The wandering ghost of the unburied person was thought to wreak vengeance on the living by causing all sorts of evil.’

There is ample proof that this view was fully shared by Israel. Just as in Greece, executed criminals might be left unburied only temporarily, because of the danger the country

²⁹ Also in Greece a drowned person whose body was not removed from the water was considered to be unburied. When after the naval battle at Arginusae the bodies of the fallen warriors were not taken out of the water for burial, the people were so incensed that they put six Athenian commanders to death.

³⁰ The omitted line Jastrow reads *purusu la uparris*, ‘Dessen Entscheidung—*i. e.* Recht—[nicht ausgeführt ist],’ and explains it to mean ‘dass dem Toten das ihm zukommende Recht, würdig bestattet zu werden, nicht gewährt worden ist.’ If this reading and interpretation is correct, Soph. *Ant.* 1071, ἀδελφῶν νέκυρ, ‘a corpse with all the rites unpaid,’ may be referred to for comparison.

had to fear from unburied bodies,³¹ so in the Deuteronomic Code it was laid down as law that the body of a criminal be not left hanging over night, but that it be buried the same day, the reason given for this law being that 'A body left hanging brings down the curse of God' (Deut. 21. 23). Further, the Books of Samuel narrate that, because the bones of Saul and Jonathan were left unburied, the country was overtaken by calamity, which did not pass until their bones were duly buried.³² To be left unburied is viewed as a terrible curse throughout Old Testament literature, in the canonical and non-canonical books alike.³³ The duty of burial was regarded as such a sacred one that, in the Book of Tobit, Tobit, in defiance of the interdict of King Sennacherib, buries the bodies of his slain coreligionists at the risk of his life,³⁴ just as in a similar situation Antigone does in the Greek drama. To what extremes the people went in the matter of burial may best be seen from the fact that it was made obligatory to pour the blood of a slaughtered animal upon the ground (for absorption by the earth) and, in addition, to cover it with earth (unless the blood of the animal was sacrificed unto God on the altar), 'the blood,' as the law explains, 'being the seat of the soul of every being.'³⁵

Of the two passages, Is. 26. 21 and Ez. 24. 7-8, generally referred to in support of the mistaken interpretation of our Job passage, 'Let not earth cover my blood,' the former, Is. 26. 21, has no bearing whatever on the question under discussion. The clue to its meaning is furnished by v. 19, in which the hope is expressed for the resurrection of the nation's dead. Verse 21, 'For Yahve will come forth out of his place to punish the inhabitants of the earth for their guilt, and the earth will disclose its blood (אֶת דַּמֶּיהָ) and will no more cover its slain,'

³¹ See Rohde, *op. cit.* 1. 217, note 4.

³² 2 Sam. 21. 12-14. In vv. 1-14 two stories have become fused—the story of the visitation of the country with famine because of the blood-guilt incurred by Saul against the Gibeonites, and the story of the visitation of the country with a calamity, not specified in the present text, because the bones of Saul and Jonathan were left unburied.

³³ Cf. 2 Ki. 9. 10, 34-37; Is. 14. 19; Jer. 7. 33, 8. 1 f., 9. 21, 14. 16, 16. 4 ff., 22. 18, 25. 33; Ez. 29. 5; Ps. 79. 2 f.; 2 Macc. 5. 10, 9. 15, 13. 7; Jubil. 23. 23; I Enoch 98. 13.

³⁴ Tobit 1. 18 f., 2. 3-8.

³⁵ Lev. 17. 13 f.; Deut. 12. 16, 23 f.

says that when God appears to sit in judgment over the world-powers, the Jewish martyrs will rise from their grave to prefer accusations against their slayers. As a matter of fact, this interpretation is given by a number of scholars,³⁶ but, strange to say, the same scholars combine with it the mistaken interpretation, apparently oblivious to the fact that logically the one interpretation excludes the other. Conclusive proof of this is that for רמיה the text originally read פיה, as may be deduced from στόμα of G^A. 'The earth will open its mouth' is a more satisfactory reading from every point of view.

Ez. 24. 7-8 is not quite so simple. In putting these verses into English I am obliged to depart from the order of the clauses in Hebrew and to translate v. 7b after 7c, in order to bring out the sense:

'For her blood is in her midst; not on the ground, to be covered with earth, has she poured it, but on the bare rock has she put it to stir up wrath—i. e. divine wrath—to take vengeance. I have put her blood on the bare rock that it may not be covered.'

The only point that cannot be definitely settled is what circumstances are referred to by 'Her blood is in her midst.' Owing to the general obscurity of vv. 1-14 and to the fact that it is doubtful whether vv. 7-8 are an integral part of them,³⁷ it cannot be ascertained whether by 'her blood is in her midst' the author has reference to blood-guilt or to the victims of the catastrophe of the year 597 or 586 B. C., as the case may be, though the use of the singular מן might be considered as an argument in favor of the latter. Note that in Ez. 21. 37 the same expression is used in connection with the end which Moab is to meet with on his own soil;³⁸ cf. also Jer. 14. 16, 16. 4, and other similar passages. However, the exact reference in 'Her blood is in her midst' is after all immaterial for our purposes; the main thing is that, in the light of what has been pointed

³⁶ See Hitzig, *Jesaia*; Frz. Delitzsch, *Das Buch Jesaia*; Smend, *Anmerkungen zu Jesaia 24-27* (in *ZAW* 4. 188 f.): and Dillmann-Kittel, *Jesaia*, 6th ed.

³⁷ Cf. Rothstein in Kautzsch, *Die Heilige Schrift des Alt. Test.* 3d ed. 1. 883 f., where these two points are discussed at length.

³⁸ Even 'Thy blood shall lie in thy land' of this verse has been interpreted by some scholars in line with the mistaken notion under discussion.

out about blood-revenge and the sacredness of the duty of burial in ancient times, the rest of vv. 7-8 admits of but one interpretation. Ezekiel means to point out that the blood, *i. e.* the bodies,³⁹ of those of the people who died, or, it may have been, were slain, have flagrantly been left uncovered with earth, so that the divine wrath must be stirred to take vengeance. The mistake in the current interpretation is due to the failure of the scholars to take cognizance of the grammatical construction: In. v. 8a לנָקם נָקָם is not coordinate with but subordinate to להעלות חמה, as the RV rightly takes it, and as it was in fact understood by G: τοῦ ἀναβῆναι θυμὸν εἰς ἐκδίκησιν ἐκδικηθῆναι; and furthermore, this halfverse, in accordance with G, is to be construed with v. 7, not with 8b. The afterthought of v. 8b which ascribes to Yahve the flagrant offense spoken of in these verses is in harmony with Ezekiel's theological reasoning in general—a point on which Biblical scholars are agreed, so that it requires no discussion here. With the phrase, להעלות חמה לנָקם נָקָם 'to stir up wrath to take vengeance,' Iliad 22. 335-358 and Odyssey 11. 51-73 may be compared. In the former, the dying Hector, having vainly implored Achilles not to throw his corpse to the dogs and carrion birds, but to return it to his kin for burial, warns him μή τοί τι θεῶν μῆνιμα γένωμαι, 'Let me not become a cause of wrath to thee'—*i. e.* in case Achilles carries out his threat; and in the latter, the shade of Elpenor, in adjuring Odysseus not to leave his body on the Aeaeon Island without burial, expresses the identical warning. In both Ezekiel and Homer the reference is to the divine wrath roused to vengeance by the sacrilege of leaving the bodies unburied.

We may now consider the real meaning of Job 16. 18a, אֲרֵץ רִמִּי אֶל תַּכְסִּי דַּמִּי 'Let not earth cover my blood.' The meaning of these words is very plain, when it is remembered that the blood was thought to be the seat of life, or of the soul, of every being, and that accordingly דַּם occurs in Gen. 9. 4, and Lev. 17. 14, and also Deut. 27. 25, as an equivalent term of נֶפֶשׁ, meaning 'life,' 'person,' 'self.' It is in this same sense that it is used here in Job. Similarly דַּם is used Ps. 72. 14 'May their life (דַּמָּם) be precious in his eyes,' as is shown by נַפְשָׁם of the parallel clause, and again Ps. 30. 10, 'What profit is

³⁹ See below, p. 316.

there if my life is sacrificed (בְּרִמִּי);⁴⁰ and finally 1 Sam. 26. 20, אֵל יִפְּלֵ רִמִּי אֶרֶצָה מִנֶּגֶד פְּנֵי יְהוָה, which, without the prepositional phrase, is as we shall see presently, an equivalent phrase of אֶרֶץ אֵל תִּכְסִּי רִמִּי. Neither in Ps. 30. 10 and 72. 14 nor in 1 Sam. 26. 20 does דָּם imply a violent death. In 1 Sam. 26. 20 David does not express the fear that if he were to be killed in a foreign land there would be none to avenge his blood (as the verse is generally explained), but expresses the wish that he may not die in a foreign land. Not to be buried in one's native country was in ancient Greece, we know, considered a terrible punishment,⁴¹ for the reason that only in one's native land, the domain of the native gods, was it possible for those burial rites to be performed which were held essential for the soul's rest in the nether world. This belief explains why among the Greeks the remains of persons that died in a foreign country were so often taken home to Greece for interment.^{42a} That this belief was shared by ancient Israel is shown not only by David's appeal to Saul in the passage under discussion, but by the requests of Jacob and Joseph in the story of the Patriarchs—in the one case, that his remains be not buried in Egypt, and in the other, that they be not left there, but in both that they be taken to Canaan for burial. Among the Bedouin of Arabia Petraea, where so many primitive beliefs and customs have been preserved unchanged, this notion prevails up to the present day. Proof of this I find in two funeral songs published some ten years ago by A. Musil;⁴² in the one the person slain in a foreign land is addressed as follows: 'Return to your native land, do not die in a foreign country;' and in the other the person that met with such a fate exclaims: 'I must die far from home, but my kinsfolk are numerous, and by courage and sacrifice they will bring my body home.'

⁴⁰ The preposition כִּ is כִּ of price; בְּרִמִּי of this example is akin to כִּנְפְּשִׁי 'at the risk,' and 'at the peril of his life,' 1 Ki. 2. 23 and Pr. 7. 23 respectively, *et alit.* דָּם with the meaning 'life' is found also in Talmudic Aramaic and Neo-Hebraic (see Levy, *Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch*, s. v.) and in Arabic (see Dozy, *Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes*, s. v. دَم).

⁴¹ See W. Fischer, *Rheinisches Museum*, N. F. 20. 445 ff.; Rohde *op. cit.* 1. 217 f., and A. Dieterich, *op. cit.* p. 52.

^{42a} See Rohde, *op. cit.* p. 217, n. 2.

⁴² *Arabia Petraea*, 3. 340.

אל יפל רמי ארצה means 'Let me not sink into the grave,' i. e., let me not die. The expression belongs in the category of stock phrases not limited to Hebrew and Semitic languages, but common also to Indo-European languages; its Greek equivalent is γαῖαν or χθόνα δύναι, 'to sink into the earth,' or 'to go to the grave.'⁴³ A similar stock phrase is ארץ אל תכסי רמי meaning 'let me not (die and) be laid in the earth;' of its numerous Greek equivalents may be mentioned ὅπου κίθε γαῖα, 'Where the earth covered him,' meaning 'where he was buried'⁴⁴—a meaning, which, as Merry and Riddel point out, is settled beyond doubt, first of all, by the use of the aorist, and further, by the continuation, καὶ ὃν τινα πότμον ἐπέσπεν;⁴⁵ ὑπὸ χθονὸς κεκευθῆναι, 'to be buried';⁴⁶ χθονὶ γνῖα καλύψαιμι, '(up to the time) when I shall have my body covered with earth,' i. e., until I am dead;⁴⁷ Ἑτεοκλέα . . . κατὰ χθονὸς ἔκρυψε, 'he buried Eteocles';⁴⁸ and ὁ κατὰ γῆς (ellipsis for ὁ κατὰ γῆς κρυψάμενος), 'one dead and buried.'⁴⁹ As an equivalent to the last phrase we may consider Arabic *ganīnun* (verbal adjective of *ganna*, 'to cover,' used as a collective), 'those dead and in the grave.'⁵⁰

Of other Arabic equivalents of ארץ אל תכסי רמי I shall mention:

lī'ummi 'l-'ardī yaīlun ma' 'agannat,

'Woe unto Mother Earth'⁵¹ because of that *precious body* which she covers

⁴³ Il. 6. 19 and 411.

⁴⁴ Od. 3. 16.

⁴⁵ Cf. *Homer's Odyssey*, ed. by W. W. Merry and J. Riddel, *ad loc.*

⁴⁶ Aesch. *Theb.* 588.

⁴⁷ Pind. *N.* 8. 65.

⁴⁸ Soph. *Ant.* 24 f.

⁴⁹ Xen. *Cyr.* 4. 6. 5.

⁵⁰ 'Amr v. 20. Cf. *Septem Mo'allakat*, ed. F. A. Arnold, Zausani's comments on the phrase; Th. Nöldeke, *Fünf Mo'allakat*, 1, p. 36; and the Arabic Lexica of Freytag and of Lane, s. v. جَنِين.

⁵¹ *Hamāsa*, 457, v. 3. The customary explanation of 'umm, 'abode,' 'place,' 'sepulchre,' (cf. Freytag in both his commentary and *Lexicon Arabicum*, and also Lane, *Arabic Dictionary*) is wrong. The real explanation is furnished by the kindred expression אֵם כָּל הָאָרֶץ (Sir. 40. 1), which is said of the earth, and which has especial weight for us here since the sentence in which it occurs speaks, like our Arabic verse, of man's return-

(Where the road approaches Mt. Al-Hasan;)'

ua'aḥu fatan ʔarāḥu ṭummata,

'What a man they covered there,

(The while their hands heaped dust on him;)'⁵²

and the two interesting prepositional phrases *fūkahu l-'arḏu*, 'covered with earth'⁵³ and *man tahta 't-turābi*, 'one that is beneath the dust,'⁵⁴ both equivalent to our 'laid beneath the sod.'

As in the case of *ʔarāḥu*, *Hamāsa*, 477, v. 6, and also of *ganīna* 'Amr, v. 20, so in Gen. 37. 26 כָּסִינוּ אֶת דָּמוֹ by itself (without אֶרֶץ or עָפָר), means 'bury him.'⁵⁵

ing or being laid to rest, at death, in the lap of the earth עָד יוֹם שׁוּבוֹ אֶל (אִם כָּל חַי). We have thus in Arabic, too, an interesting example of the universal phrase *Mother Earth* and the religious notion underlying it.

⁵² *Ib.* 477, v. 6.

⁵³ Mutammim's Elegy in Th. Nöldeke, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Poesie der alten Araber*, p. 101, v. 28.

⁵⁴ *Hamāsa*, 373, v. 3.

⁵⁵ The various interpretations given of this last phrase show that modern scholars have been at sea regarding it. Following the traditional translation, 'conceal his blood' (RV), 'sein Blut verbergen' (Luther), *celaverimus sanguinem ipsius* (Vulg.), which evidently has its basis in the misunderstood κρύψωμεν of G, Knobel, Delitzsch, and Dillmann interpret the phrase to mean 'durch Verscharren des Bluts den Mord verheimlichen;' Wellhausen, *Composition des Hexateuch*, p. 56, explains it as 'ihn ohne Blutvergiessen umbringen;' Holzinger, Ryle, and Skinner interpret it in line with the erroneous interpretation of Job 16. 18; and Procksch, *Genesis*, p. 220, attempts a combination of the latter interpretation with that of Delitzsch, Dillmann, etc. He says: "'Blut zuschütten," sodass es nicht um Rache schreien kann, und keinen Zeugen hat (Ge. 4. 10, Hi. 16. 18) bedeutet "einen heimlichen Mord begehen" gegenüber ehrlicher Blutrache. Bruderblut, das nicht "zugeschüttet" ist, rächt sich am Leben des Mörders (2 Sa. 14).'"—2 Sam. 14 contains, however, nothing to bear out Procksch's contention.

The only exception is Fr. Schwally, who, in *Das Leben nach dem Tode*, 1892, p. 52, rightly remarks: 'Die Phrase כָּסִינוּ אֶת דָּמוֹ bedeutet . . . lediglich den ordnungsgemässen Vollzug der Bestattung des Ermordeten.' He invalidates his explanation, however, by adding: 'Unschuldiger vergossenes Blut, d. h. die in ihm befindliche Seele, schreit, wenn es nicht bedeckt wird, zum Himmel um Rache, Gen. 4. 10, Ez. 24. 7, Jes. 26. 21, Hiob 16. 18, Henoch 47. 1, 2, 4, bedecktes Blut dagegen nicht' (p. 53).—It should be added that 1 Enoch 47. 1 f., 4, which Schwally quotes as an additional reference, contain nothing that would prove his contention. The verses read: 'And in those days shall have ascended the prayer of the righteous, and the blood of the righteous from the earth before the Lord of Spirits. In those days the holy ones who dwell above in the heavens

The origin of the second group of phrases is to be sought, it seems to me, not so much in the fact that interment was the oldest method of burial the world over, as in the universal practice that went with it of imbedding the body in a layer of gravel and clay, and of covering it with clay and gravel, or with sand and dust,⁵⁶ even when placed in an urn or immured. This practice prevailed in Greece in the Mycenaean Age as well as throughout Northern Europe in prehistoric times;⁵⁷ and the excavations of recent years have shown that it was also common in Canaan for over a thousand years prior to its conquest by Israel, and that it continued to prevail among the conquerors throughout preëxilic times, if not throughout their entire history.⁵⁸

To this at one time foremost burial rite is traceable the later custom of throwing dust on the body even before it is laid in the grave. Evidence of the existence of this custom among the Arabs is found in *Hamāsa*, 423, vv. 1-3:

‘In Beidha there lies one that is dead,
 . . . His uncle’s daughters stand around him,
 . . . They throw the dust on him with their hands;
 Their throwing dust on him is not inspired by hatred;’⁵⁹

also in Ḥariri:⁶⁰

shall unite with one voice and supplicate and pray and praise and give thanks and bless the name of the Lord of Spirits on behalf of the blood of the righteous which has been shed, and that the prayer of the righteous may not be in vain before the Lord of Spirits; that justice may be done unto them, and that they may not have to be long suffering forever. And the hearts of the holy ones were filled with joy because the number of the righteous had been completed, and the prayer of the righteous had been heard, and the blood of the righteous been requited before the Lord of Spirits.’

⁵⁶ Occasionally these are found mixed with cinders and ashes.

⁵⁷ Cf. Rohde, *op. cit.* 1. 33 f.

⁵⁸ Of the literature on the subject cf. especially Vincent, *Canaan d’après l’Exploration Récente* (Paris, 1907), pp. 189, 194-200, 213, 220, 222, 227, 231 f., 270-273, 279; and Steuernagel-Schumacher, *Tell-el-Mutesellim* (Leipzig, 1908), pp. 17-22, 25, 54-62, 158.

⁵⁹ ‘Their throwing dust on him is not inspired by hatred’ receives its point from the fact that throwing dust at a living person is equivalent to cursing him. Thus Shimei, cursing David, threw dust and stones at him (2 Sam. 16. 5 f.).

⁶⁰ Ed. de Sacy, p. 107, verse 2 of the Elegy of Abul-‘Atahijja.

'Alas! must I wrap thee in the shroud,
And throw dust on thee with my hands.'

The custom prevailed also in Greece. Thus when King Creon interdicted the burial of Polynices, Antigone defied the king and fulfilled her sacred duty to her brother by bestrewn his body with fine dust. Antigone's act is spoken of in the drama as τὸν νεκρὸν τις θάψας, in explanation of which D'Ooge aptly remarks: 'To strew the body with dust was the essential part of burial, and in the view of the ancients had the same value for the spirits of the departed as burial with full rites.'⁶¹ In the light of this significance of the rite is to be viewed the Athenian law which made it incumbent upon any one who found an unburied corpse to throw some earth or dust on it and which pronounced accursed (ἐναγής) him who failed to do so.⁶² In such cases the custom (no doubt general), was to throw three handfuls of dust on the corpse: *iniecto ter pulvere curras*.⁶³

Another relic of the burial method in the remote ages of history is the custom prevailing among the present day Bedouin of Arabia Petraea of spreading on the bottom of a grave gravel and dust, taken from the place where the person died, and of laying the body on top of it;⁶⁴ or of placing a pillow filled with dust under the head of the body.⁶⁵ And a vestige of this old burial method may be seen in the world-wide custom which has persisted even to the present day for the friends of the deceased to throw a few clods of earth on the coffin after it has been lowered into the grave.

⁶¹ See Sophocles' *Antigone*, ed. by M. L. D'Ooge, v. 245 f. Cf. also v. 255 f., τυμβήρης μὲν οὐ, λεπτὴ δ', ἄγος φεύγοντος ὥς, ἐπὶν κόνιν; v. 409 f., and vv. 426-431.

⁶² Aelian, *Var. hist.* 5. 15: νόμος καὶ οὗτος Ἀττικὸς· ὅς ἂν ἀτάφῳ περιτύχῃ σώματι ἀνθρώπου, πάντως ἐπιβάλλειν αὐτῷ γῆν; Schol. Soph. *Ant.* v. 255: οἱ γὰρ νεκρὸν ὁρῶντες ἀταφον καὶ μὴ ἐπαμνησάμενοι κόνιν ἐναγείς εἶναι ἐδόκουν.

⁶³ Horace *Od.* 1. 28. 36.

⁶⁴ As in ancient times, even so today, coffins are unknown in Arabia and other Oriental countries. To bury the dead without coffins was at one time a Greek custom, too; it prevailed throughout the Mycenaean Age as well as in the early Attic period (also in Etruria this custom was common); cf. Rohde, *op. cit.* p. 226 f.

⁶⁵ See Musil, *op. cit.*, 3. 424 f.

The meaning of the second part of Job 16. 18, ואל יהי מקום לזעקת is as simple as the first part. מקום ל means 'place for,' 'room for,' or 'occasion for;' with this meaning מקום ל occurs again Sir. 4. 5, לא תתן לו מקום לקללך, 'Give him no occasion for cursing thee.' This meaning of מקום ל requires no further discussion, as it has its exact analogon in English, *place for*, or *room for*, in Greek τόπος, and in many other languages. The translation of Job 16. 18b is 'Let there be no occasion for my outcry.' Instead of the unnatural prayer which the prevailing interpretation carried into the verse, the prayer which Job really utters is the simplest, the most natural, that can be imagined. He prays that he may be saved from the grave, so that there may be no place any more for his complaint that, notwithstanding his blameless life, he has been stricken with death.

THE CURSE IN THE 'PARADISE EPIC'

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WHETHER IN 'PARADISE' or in the legends of the workaday world, the curse of the gods is, by all of its presuppositions, pivotal and normative. It is fundamental, therefore, that it be stated in clear and unmistakable language. Failure in this regard automatically eliminates unity wherever the curse is involved, since neither its prelude nor its sequel can be properly explained or related no matter how obvious either may be in itself. To state this otherwise, failure to relate the curse normatively to its context is *prima facie* evidence of a misapprehension of the curse itself or of the context, or both.

In spite of the fragmentary condition of the original of Langdon's so-called 'Epic of Paradise,' and the numerous divergences of reading made by experts after repeated collations, coupled with the shifting uncertainties of unilingual Sumerian interpretation thus far, there is a surprising consensus of opinion as to the general scheme of its contents. By virtual unanimity of opinion the text falls into two general divisions. The first consists of early myths dealing with the rise of agriculture and extends as far as Rev. ii. 38. The remainder deals with a divine curse and a sequel wherein new gods for the alleviation of disease are introduced and invoked.

It is clear that the two parts are very diverse, although each has a distinct uniformity of its own. It is equally evident that the curse marks their separation. The unity of the whole is not clear on any theory so far proposed, and the lack of unity may be stated as consisting primarily in failure to relate the context integrally to the curse. If this were all, then an hypothesis of unity might not be worth pursuing farther; but another fact significantly urges in the same direction. The curse itself has not yet been cleared of ambiguity by any interpretation so far available.

To begin with, the reason for the curse is not stated. Langdon's earlier theory that it was due to eating from a plant forbidden in the text has been given up by him although the assumption that such a transgression took place, *nevertheless*,

was almost immediately posited by him for other reasons, but without proof. It is obvious that the curse might be attributed to the caprice of the gods, in which case no explanation is necessary or to be expected, but if correct, it summarily disposes of the 'official' interpretation, there being no divine command, nor sin nor fall nor penalty. If the curse meant the loss of immortality, as more generally assumed, then at least the jealousy of the gods is involved and this should either be stated or so clearly implied as to exclude other motives. The entire absence of this feature would, in itself, seriously compromise this interpretation.

In the second place the relation of the curse to the sequel is particularly obscure. This is undoubtedly due in part to the unsatisfactory state of the text that immediately follows, but even more hinges on the curse itself. If the curse meant that man was to die, it is not at all clear why during the remainder of the narrative gods and men should be so contentedly occupied with the presentation of certain new gods of disease, without further explanation. Granted that the palliation of disease might well be recorded as a special divine intervention, it does not in the slightest alter the curse in that case, nor does it claim to do so. Again it does not certainly put off the evil day, for it is a not uncommon experience that invalids outlive the robust of the same generation; and besides there are many other even more dangerous hazards such as war, flood, and famine, that frequently curtail life to a much greater extent, yet none of these dangers are provided against. The one thing that the provisions against disease certainly do is to relieve physical ills; but, if this does not signify a curtailment of the curse in some definite way, it is difficult to see what integral relation the section can have to the curse.

Thirdly, if the second part be taken as normative and hence the entire work be regarded as an incantation text, this reduces the bulk of the narrative to an introduction that can be called such only because it happens to stand first.

May these incongruities be due to a misapprehension of the curse? What does the curse signify in itself, as its most natural sense? Fortunately there is no doubt at this point as to the reading (Rev. ii. 38). Everything hinges on the rendering of the particle *en-na*. Is it ever allowable to translate it 'when'?

It is agreed by all that it normally means 'until' and only the necessities of the context permit the use of 'when'; but being in a curse that is itself normative for the context, the most usual meaning is to be preferred. Accordingly it reads: 'The face of life until he dies, he shall not see.' It has been objected that this rendering, which is Langdon's, makes no sense because until man dies, being alive, he would be seeing the face of life, which can accordingly only mean 'live' (*JAOS* 36. 272). Undoubtedly it signifies to live, but to behold a person's face as a mark of the highest personal favor is too common a Semitic figure to call for extended comment. 2 Sam. 14. 24-33 will serve as illustration. Absalom's permission to return from Geshur was so far from complete restoration that he came to prefer exile or death rather than continue its provisions without seeing the face of the king. Accordingly, to behold the face of life is to enjoy its fullest favor, which not only includes, but expresses perfect health, and failure to behold the face of life will as inevitably involve bodily weakness and illness. If the writer desired to state the curse of ill-health and disease, he could scarcely have chosen more forceful language. In so far as the meaning 'when' is allowable, in the sense of 'at the time when,' it is at any rate of insufficient force in this instance, for the curse in order to be efficacious cannot be conceived as occupying itself solely with the moment of death. In reality 'when' here can only mean from the moment of death onward, that is, it properly signifies 'after' in this context (*AJTh* 21. 590), but as the basic idea in *en-na* is duration (*Sumer. Gloss.* p. 35) a meaning 'after' will doubtless not be pressed.

The curse as rendered above offers no evidence of a curtailment of man's longevity. One could with equal propriety assume that men were to live even longer in order that the gods might extend the application of ill health. Secondly, this rendering gives no hint of a loss of immortality, but in this respect might very well imply that men were eventually to become immortal (*AJSL* 33. 136). It contains no reference to disobedience or a Fall, and it offers no new edict with respect to death, nor does it hint at mortality as a curse. Its attitude here is the same as in the oldest stratum of Gen. 3: of course man will die.

The most natural and unambiguous meaning of the line confines itself to the application of disease, and with this meaning the remainder of the text becomes integral without further ado, confined as it is to a representative list of ailments and their respective divine physicians.

We may now consider the relation of the curse to the work as a whole, and thus viewed our text seeks to account for and then to ward off the evil effects of the multitude of diseases bred in the Babylonian plain. These ever present ills went back to immemorial antiquity. They were as old as man in that valley. There, when the world was young, when only the gods inhabited it, Sumerian men came upon the scene; and in order to provide for human welfare, the gods by beneficent inundations and by teaching men the art of agriculture, inaugurated civilized life. Then it was, also, that the curse of disease was pronounced, a most striking as well as serious phenomenon for the Sumerians, coming as they perhaps did from a mountainous region. Every British soldier who has passed through the recent Mesopotamian campaign would readily appreciate the curse of En-ki. (The alternative rendering that would make the curse originate not with En-ki but with Nin-ĥar-sag has the difficulty of making the goddess jealous of her offspring (*AJTh* 21. 590)¹ for which there is no evidence in the text as preserved, while in the sequel she is the only one who brings about an alleviation of man's lot.) Such an elaborate setting of the curse would not be worth the breath it takes to picture were it not to be followed by substantial alleviation, and accordingly it is agreed on all hands that starting with the protest of Nin-ĥar-sag, the Red Cross work of the gods is adequately organized to alleviate the ills of mankind.

It is reasonably clear that the eight new deities who hold sway over as many diseases are themselves the offspring of Nin-ĥar-sag (cf. *AJTh* 21. 591), who introduces them to suffering humanity. Indeed is it not meant to be understood from the word play between the names of these new gods and their homeopathic specialties (Dazima for *dazi*, Nazi for *nazi* etc.) that

¹ I was unable to consult Dr. Albright's article *JAOS* 39. 65 ff. before the present paper had gone to the printer.

Nin-har-sag could be confidently expected to produce a 'Nin-flu-en-za' when the occasion arose? This means more than an alleviation of the curse. It provides for its theoretical annulment. Hence we have a real sequel and the whole is an organic unity, that is, from the standpoint of the curse, when once the latter is freed from ambiguity and late theology.

This conclusion would, I am convinced, have been evident to the pioneer workers on this text, upon whose combined labors our present knowledge as to its meaning rests, had it not been for the damaged and enigmatical passage immediately following the curse. I desire to apply the viewpoint stated above to this section, not with the hope of definitely solving its enigmas; there are too many unknown quantities involved for that; but at least for the purpose of stating the lines along which it should, perhaps, proceed, in view of the nature of the whole.

Granted that Nin-har-sag, the Divine Mother of mankind, although voicing the curse, yet understood it as essentially hostile to her own interests, her appeal to Enlil becomes significant. Rev. ii. 41: 'I have borne thee children, what is my reward?' What is her concern, and what does 'reward' here involve? If the curse were her very own, then she already has her reward in its fulfillment, and her appeal to Enlil is out of place. Only on the supposition that it is against her interests does the appeal have point. She speaks as a mother, who therefore has a right to a reward from the husband, but she also speaks as a mother about to be bereaved. Nothing in the curse implies that she should cease to have offspring and hence her title of the Great Mother was not outwardly affected, yet her language distinctly implies that as matters now stand her child-bearing has been in vain. That is, the curse annuls her motherhood. This apparent discrepancy disappears in the recognition that motherhood is more than child-bearing. Under the curse her offspring are to pine and suffer beyond her power to help. All her beneficent motherly care for them was put in jeopardy. The appreciation of the mother instinct is finely drawn here. The pain of motherhood is vain if it brings forth offspring only to suffer relentless pain.

With this as her concern, it is possible to define the only reward that could have a bearing in the case and this can be very simply stated. The reward must save her motherhood in

the sense of sheltering nurture as well as child-bearing, but this can only be accomplished in the circumstances by obviating the curse. These considerations, if valid, would determine the lines along which the puzzling passage Rev. ii. 44 must be worked out. In the preceding line Enlil recognizes the motherhood of the goddess and therefore her right to a reward; and then in l. 44 he applies an epithet to her by which she is to be especially known in Nippur; and in view of the preceding it cannot fail to confirm her motherhood for the future. Such renderings as 'two creatures I will make for thee,' or 'two thrones,' etc., lack not in grammar but in meaning. I must leave the final solution of this delicate problem to my betters in Sumerian finesse, but merely not to seem to dodge the issue I would suggest as another possibility 'double source producing flowing (i. e. abundant) milk shall thy name be called' (*IIgiš-mal-ga-ri-dú*). In which case we should have an epithet that emphatically confirmed the sheltering nurture denied by the curse to the goddess, at whose breasts mankind had been nourished and was still to find fulness of life.

Rev. ii. 45-47 immediately following are most difficult and the translation in part conjectural. Langdon's attempt to make them refer to the god of vegetation, who does not otherwise appear in this column, only shows the desperate straits of the interpreter. The position of the lines makes it natural for them to be epexegetical to the epithet in l. 44, continuing the speech of Enlil, with Nin-har-sag as the active subject and mankind the object. With all reserve I would suggest: (45) 'In pain his head she alone fashions, (46) His mouth she alone causes to speak, (47) His eye she alone shall fill with light.'² All three lines deal with Nin-har-sag's functions as the great Mother: first that of child-bearing; second, nurture; third, motherly care that assures complete fulness of life, poetically described as 'filling the eye with light,' a phrase in significant contrast with 'not seeing the face of life,' and intentionally so, for such fulness of life in the gift of Nin-har-sag assures the triumph over the curse. If it be objected that these lines might as readily be construed as all referring to birth functions, this need not be

² For the readings involved here, cf. my forthcoming review of Langdon's 'Epic' in *AJSL*.

denied. Indeed they may have originally meant exactly that, having been taken, perchance, from some older ritual in praise of the mother goddess; but their utterance by Enlil at this juncture certifies, as the sequel clearly shows, a much wider application, namely, one that covers the whole course of man.

How Enlil's promise was fulfilled was once told in full in Rev. i, ii. From what now remains, the new deities that here appear are best described as the latest offspring of Enlil and Nin-har-sag. Their function was to bring relief from the curse of disease which had been laid upon Nin-har-sag's other progeny. Thus by her motherhood her motherhood was preserved, in spite of En-ki. So ran one canto in the great Hallēl of Enlil and Ninlil in Nippur in the best days of Sumer. Stated in everyday language, the Sumerians after a hard struggle gradually became acclimated in the Babylonian plain, and gave the glory to their old mountain gods.

CATTLE-TENDING AND AGRICULTURE IN THE AVESTA

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IN THE ACCOUNTS of the religion of Zoroaster and of the people among whom he expounded his new faith, we find the statement that the Persians were at that time a people who not only had herds and flocks, but tilled the soil as well. For convenience, I condense somewhat from the chapter on Agriculture in Geiger's *Civilization of the Eastern Iranians*:¹

Only the cultivated ground is the property of Mazdah. Regions devoid of cultivation are haunted by evil spirits. Therefore, wherever a follower of the Avestan religion settles, it is his first duty to render the soil productive. It is a triumph of the good cause whenever a portion of land is by irrigation wrung from the death-like desert and made productive. The draining of swamps, which was necessary in some parts of Persia, was equally as meritorious as irrigation. The religion of Mazdah invites its adherents to ceaseless activity in agriculture no less than in other pursuits. It bids them fight against sterility and barrenness, and create instead of them affluence and culture. The genius of the earth is said to rejoice when the earth is tilled and corn is produced, and to mourn when it remains sterile. The earth is like a woman, who misses her vocation when she grows old childless, but who is proud in happiness and beauty when healthy sons owe their lives to her. Besides the cultivation of grain, there are indications that hay was grown as winter fodder for the cattle, and that fruit-bearing plants were cultivated; whether the last included fruit-trees, cannot be determined. Nothing which we can infer from the Avesta as to the agricultural practices of the ancient Iranians is inconsistent with the present-day practices, and many of the present-day peculiarities are seen to be of very ancient origin.²

¹ Wilhelm Geiger, *Civilization of the Eastern Iranians in Ancient Times*, translated by Darab Dastur Peshotan Sanjana (1885), 196-211.

² See especially Vd. 3; 5. 5; 6. 6; 9. 53-57; 14. 12; 17. 3. Many of the passages cited by Geiger *l. c.* can no longer be interpreted as containing all

But none of the specifically agricultural passages of the Avesta occur in its oldest portions, the Gāthās and the sacred prayers, which are distinguishable by their linguistic peculiarities as well as to a certain extent by their subject matter. We find in them the Ox-Creator (*gəuš tasū*) (Yn. 29. 2; 31. 9; 46. 9), the Ox-Soul pleading for a protector against the Raiding Violence (*aīšma*) of the robber hordes from the North, the appointment of Zarathushtra to this service (Yn. 29), and the Prophet's constant exhortation to the people to care for the cattle and for the pastures and to defend their herds against the evil followers of the Druj.³ But there is in these Gāthās not one word which is of a distinctly agricultural meaning. Plants (*urvarū-*) are indeed mentioned (Yn. 44. 4; 51. 7), but obviously as intended for the food of cattle (Yn. 48. 6).

The technical terminology of cattle-tending, as found in the Gāthās, is quite simple, and does not suggest the tillage of the soil. From a root which is manifestly connected with the German *Weide*,⁴ we find *vāstar-* 'herdsman' (Yn. 29. 1), also in the figurative sense which English 'shepherd' has acquired (Yn. 27. 13); *vāstra-* 'pasture,' either as fodder (Yn. 29. 2) or as land;^{5a} *vāstrya-* 'pertaining to pasturing' (Yn. 29. 1; 33. 6), or, as substantivized adjective, 'he who practises the pasturing <of cattle>' (Yn. 29. 6; 31. 9 bis, 10, 15; 51. 5; 53. 4); *vāstravant-* 'provided with pasture' (Yn. 48. 11; 50. 2). Another root (seemingly identical with that in Skt. *paśū-*, Av. *pasav-*, Lat. *pecu* or *pecus*, Germ. *Vieh*) appears in the verb *fšav-* 'to feed or fatten <cattle>' (Yn. 48. 5), with a present participle *fšuyant-* 'cattle-fattening, cattle-tending' (Yn. 29. 5; 49. 4); in

the significance which he puts into them. As a corrective one may consult Fritz Wolff, *Avesta, die heiligen Bücher der Parsen übersetzt* (1910), and Chr. Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch* (1904).

³ Yn. 31. 15; 33. 4-6; 34. 5, 14; 44. 20; 49. 4; 51. 5, 14; etc. The texts are conveniently accessible in English in J. H. Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism* (1913), 343-390 and in German in Chr. Bartholomae, *Die Gāthā's des Avesta* (1905).

⁴ Vide Bartholomae, *AltW.* 1413-1417.

^{5a} Yn. 32. 10; 33. 3, 4; 44. 20; 47. 3; 51. 14. Bartholomae's 'Weidewirtschaft, überh. Landwirtschaft' (*AltW.* 1414) is not necessitated by any one of the three passages which he cites; in Yn. 44. 20 and 51. 14, the word may perfectly well mean simply 'the pasture land,' and in Yn. 58. 4 it denotes the personification of the pasture land.

one passage this participle is used as an adjective to *vāstrya-* (Yn. 31. 10), while in another place it is a substantive coördinate with *vāstrya-* (Yn. 29. 6).

If we turn next to the second-oldest portion of the Avesta, the so-called Sevenfold Gāthā (Yn. 35. 3 to 41. 6), we find there mention of cattle and their pasturage (Yn. 35. 4, 7; 37. 1-2), of the domestic animals (Yn. 39. 1), of the useful wild animals (Yn. 39. 2), of plants (Yn. 37. 1) and of water (Yn. 37. 1; 38. 3)—but again there is nothing which is conclusively agricultural rather than pastoral.

There are certain other chapters of the Yasna which show by their language a certain antiquity, but are proved by their defective syntax to be of later date.⁵ In them we find mention of cattle and of cattle-pasturing (Yn. 12. 2, 3, 7; 13. 2; 58. 4), of domestic animals (Yn. 58. 6), of plants (Yn. 12. 7), and of good water (Yn. 56. 2-4)—but still nothing decisively of agricultural nature.

In the remaining or later portions of the Avesta are found the passages on which Geiger based his account of agriculture among the ancient Iranians, or, at least, all the passages which still have assured relevancy to the subject, in view of the present status of the interpretation.

But in order to draw proper inferences from these facts, one must bear in mind the history of those texts which make up the Avesta, as actually preserved to us at the present time. Whatever the date of Zarathushtra may have been, the Holy Scriptures of the faith which he founded were preserved apparently without loss until the conquest of Persia by Alexander. In the confusion of that time, according to the story, the authoritative copy *de luxe* was destroyed by the invaders. The Zoroastrian faith went into an eclipse from which it emerged only in the third century of the Christian era, when the Sassanian line came to the royal throne. Under the direction of the rulers of this dynasty, the scattered Avestan texts, some presumably in fragmentary manuscripts and others preserved merely by oral tradition, were reassembled and edited into a reasonable unity. A portion only of this has come down to us, since far the larger part was lost at the time of the Mohammedan conquest of the

⁵ Yn. 12, 13, 14, 56, 58; cf. Reichelt, *Awestisches Elementarbuch*, § 11.

seventh century, and in later centuries when the Zoroastrians were striving to preserve their religious independence.

The Sassanian redaction of the Avesta did not however fairly represent the preachings of Zarathushtra. Even before the Greek conquest, the monotheism of the faith had been impaired by the introduction of Anahita and Mithra to share the honors of Ahuramazdah; and at some period, not precisely definable, the *haoma*-orgies against which Zarathushtra protested with utmost vigor (*Yn.* 32. 14; 48. 10), were foisted upon the new religion, and exposure of dead bodies to be devoured by birds and beasts replaced ordinary burial. This is not the place to go into detail upon the changes suffered by the faith after the time of its Prophet; all this has been admirably done by Moulton.⁶ We must bear in mind, for the present purpose, merely that we cannot rely upon anything but the Gāthās and the oldest prayers to give us evidence on the original doctrines.

Now, as we have seen, the oldest parts of the Avesta are absolutely barren of references to agriculture. When plants are mentioned, it is in such a combination as 'cattle, water, and plants,' which seems rather to suggest that the vegetation spoken of is that of the pasture-lands; though this, it should be admitted, is not necessarily so. On the other hand, we must not hastily conclude that the early Iranians, to whom Zarathushtra preached his sermons, were a purely pastoral people who had no acquaintance with the tilling of the soil. The common vocabulary of the Indo-Europeans and prehistoric archaeology indicate that the folk of the hypothetical Indo-European unity cultivated one or more of the cereal grains, and we must not assume for the Iranians an entire regression from that status. In the Gāthās we find a fourfold division of the people into local units, namely the home, the clan, the district, the land (*dəmāna-*, *vis-*, *šōiθra-*, *dahyu-*, *Yn.* 31. 18), and a threefold social division into *xvaētu-*, *vərəzāna-*, *airyaman-*, of somewhat puzzling interpretation;⁷ these divisions distinctly imply a fairly complex civilization, which could hardly be still in the purely pastoral stage.

⁶ J. H. Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism* (1913).

⁷ *Yn.* 32. 1; 33. 4. Cf. Moulton, *op. cit.*, 355, fn. 2.

My conclusion is therefore as follows: The people to whom Zarathushtra was preaching were a people whose herds and flocks were their main reliance, although agriculture was practised to a certain degree. But the herds were endangered by the raids of the lawless tribes to the North, and a perilous economic situation was arising. Zarathushtra appreciated the situation, and preached a reformed religion, basing its practical tenets on the care and defense of the cattle. The agricultural situation was not a serious one, and therefore received no attention from him. The Zoroastrian or Mazdayasnian religion was proclaimed to meet an economic crisis.

Not that the Prophet himself would thus have conceived it. He preached good deeds, good thoughts, good words, and set up a high standard of spiritual excellence; yet the practical expression of it all was found in the protection of the cattle. Quite naturally, with the increasing importance of agriculture in the region, the laws of the faith received accretions which tended to promote the cultivation of the fields; of this character are the Avestan passages which reflect agriculture.

NOTES OF THE SOCIETY

The Editors express their thanks to the Mergenthaler Linotype Company of New York for their courtesy in setting up, gratuitously, the paper by Dr. Furlani on a Syriac text, appearing in this Part. The Mergenthaler Company desired to present to the scholarly world a specimen of the linotype process in Oriental types. Their types include Hebrew, Arabic, Syriac (both Estranghelo and Serto), and Turkish, and they are working at a complete representation of the Hebrew, including vowel points, accents, etc.

The Annual Meeting of the Middle West Branch of the Society will be held at the Garrett Theological Seminary, Evanston, Ill., on February 21-22.

An organized effort is being made in this country to collect books, especially books of scholarly and scientific value, to replace the collection lost by the University of Louvain when its library was destroyed during the war. The American Oriental Society, along with other learned societies, has been asked to coöperate in the work. The Editors are very glad to call the attention of members to this most laudable undertaking, feeling sure that all of them will be glad to help in it if they can. It is suggested that many individuals and libraries will probably have duplicate copies of books, which could be donated without serious inconvenience; and some individuals may feel like contributing from their own collections books to which they might find access in other public or private libraries. Books, and inquiries on the subject, should be addressed to The Librarian, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

NOTES OF OTHER SOCIETIES, ETC.

A Joint Session of the Royal Asiatic Society and the Société Asiatique, participated in by representatives of the American Oriental Society and the Scuola Orientale of the University of Rome, was held in London September 3-6. The members of the Société Asiatique present were MM. Senart (president), Anesaki, Bacot, Casset, Boyer, Clermont-Ganneau, Cordier, Danon, Dautremere, Finot, Gaudefroy-Demombynes, Sylvain Lévi, Massignon, Moret, Pelliot, Roeské, Sidersky, Thureau-Dangin, Mme. Le Lasseur, Mlle. Getty, Karpelès. Other Continental scholars present were Dr. Furlani (Italy), Professors Konow (Norway),

Naville (Switzerland), Vogel (Holland). Members of the American Oriental Society present were Professor J. H. Woods, representing the President of the Society; Professors Breasted, Clay, Mercer, Worrell, Yohannan.

The meetings were held in both joint and separate sections. In addition to the business meetings and the several meetings devoted to social intercourse and hospitality, the following papers were read:

- SIR CHARLES LYALL: Some recent editions of old Arabic poetry.
 PROF. CORDIER: Vingt ans d'études chinoises.
 PROF. A. T. CLAY: Semitic studies in America.
 PROF. FINOT: Les études indo-chinoises.
 M. D. SIDERSKY: Orientalisme et astronomie.
 M. BASSET: Les études de l'Afrique du Nord.
 PROF. MARGOLIOUTH: The historical content of the *Díwán* of Buhturí.
 DR. R. A. NICHOLSON: The *Asrār-i-Khudí*, a Moslem poet's interpretation of Vitalism, by Sheikh Muhammad Iqbal of Lahore.
 DR. M. GASTER: Organization of archæological researches in Asia Minor.
 PROF. MACDONELL: Notes on Sanskrit studies at the present time.
 PROF. POUSSIN: A few remarks on the Pali and Sanskrit Canons.
 PROF. RAPSON: Notes on the history of the word *drachme*.
 DR. FARQUHAR: The historical position of Rámánanda.
 M. PELLIOU: Le texte mongole de l'histoire secrète des Mongols.
 MR. HOPKINS: Notes on the art of the Shang dynasty miniatures.
 M. DANON: (1) Légendes turques sur les Kizil-Baches.
 (2) Fragments de versions turques de la Bible.
 PROF. A. T. CLAY: The empire of the Amorites.
 DR. COWLEY: On a passage in the Moabite Stone and the form of the divine name.
 M. CLERMONT-GANNEAU: A Jewish inscription on a mosaic found during the war.
 PROF. BURKITT: Notes on the Table of Nations (Genesis x).
 MR. KRENKOW: The poetical remains of Muzāhim al-ʿUqailí.
 MR. VINCENT SMITH: Mr. Jayaswal's paper on statues of two Saisunāga kings.
 MR. F. W. THOMAS: Some remarks on Indian cosmography.
 PROF. VOGEL: A British school of Indian studies in India.
 SIR GEORGE GRIERSON: Gramophone Illustrations of Indian dialects.
 MR. R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON: Pictures of ancient Mesopotamia.

Director Wm. H. Worrell and Prof. A. T. Clay, of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem, sailed for Europe in July. In London they were in active conference with the representatives of the new British School of Archaeology in Palestine and other scholars interested in Oriental archaeology. As a result of these negotiations a concordat was drawn up by

the representatives of the two Schools, proposing the closest coöperation possible in archaeological endeavors, and combination in certain particulars of work, at the same time leaving the identity of the institutions undisturbed. This plan was referred to the Executive Committee of the American School, which in October ratified it. Certain French scholars, present at the meeting of the Joint Oriental Societies, also took part in these negotiations, namely MM. Senart and Sylvain Lévi, and later Professor Clay had a conference with these and other French orientalist in Paris, with the result that the French are considering the establishment of a School in Palestine which will also participate in the above arrangement. Plans for a joint British and American School at Bagdad were also favorably considered.

Director Worrell reached Jerusalem October 7, and Professor Clay expected soon to join him. Dr. W. F. Albright, Fellow of the School, sailed for the Mediterranean November 7, and the Rev. Dr. Peters expected to reach Jerusalem by the end of November. He will serve as a Lecturer in the School.

The staff of the British School consists of Prof. J. Garstang, Director; Mr. Phythian-Adams, his assistant; Mr. C. Leonard Woolley, curator of the museum; and Mr. Makay, the British Inspector of Antiquities.

PERSONALIA

PROFESSOR ERNST WINDISCH, of the University of Leipzig, an Honorary Member of this Society, died on October 30, 1918. On account of the war, news of his death only recently reached this country.

PROFESSOR LEONARD W. KING, of the British Museum and King's College, London, and an Honorary Member of this Society, died on August 20, 1919.

MRS. JAMES B. NIES, of Brooklyn, a Life Member of this Society and a generous contributor to its causes, died on September 16, 1919. Her intention to contribute \$50,000 for a building for the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem will be carried out by her husband and executor, the Rev. Dr. Nies.

LIST OF MEMBERS

The number placed after the address indicates the year of election.

† designates members deceased during the past year.

HONORARY MEMBERS

- Sir RAMKRISHNA GOPAL BHANDARKAR, C.I.E., Deccan College, Poona, India. 1887.
- Prof. CHARLES CLERMONT-GANNEAU, 1 Avenue de l'Alma, Paris. 1909.
- Prof. T. W. RHYS DAVIDS, Cotterstock, Chipstead, Surrey, England. 1907.
- Prof. BERTHOLD DELBRÜCK, University of Jena, Germany. 1878.
- Prof. FRIEDRICH DELITZSCH, University of Berlin, Germany. 1893.
- Prof. ADOLPH ERMAN, Berlin-Steglitz-Dahlem, Germany, Peter Lennéstr. 72. 1903.
- Sir ARTHUR EVANS, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, England. 1919.
- Prof. RICHARD GARBE, University of Tübingen, Germany. (Biesinger Str. 14.) 1902.
- Prof. KARL F. GELDNER, University of Marburg, Germany. 1905.
- Prof. IGNAZ GOLDZIEHER, vii Holló-Utcza 4, Budapest, Hungary. 1906.
- Sir GEORGE A. GRIERSON, C.I.E., D.Litt., I.C.S. (retired), Rathfarnham, Camberley, Surrey, England. Corporate Member, 1899; Hon., 1905.
- Prof. IGNAZIO GUIDI, University of Rome, Italy. (Via Botteghe Oscure 24.) 1893.
- Prof. HERMANN JACOBI, University of Bonn, 59 Niebuhrstrasse, Bonn, Germany. 1909.
- †Prof. LEONARD W. KING, British Museum, London, England. 1917.
- Prof. SYLVAIN LÉVI, Collège de France, Paris. (9 Rue Guy-de-la-Brosse, Paris, Ve.) 1917.
- Prof. ARTHUR ANTHONY MACDONELL, University of Oxford, England. 1918.
- Prof. EDUARD MEYER, University of Berlin, Germany. (Gross-Lichterfelde-West, Mommsenstr. 7.) 1908.
- Prof. THEODOR NÖLDEKE, University of Strassburg, Alsace. 1878.
- Prof. HERMANN OLDENBERG, University of Göttingen, Germany. (27/29 Nikolausberger Weg.) 1910.
- Prof. EDUARD SACHAU, University of Berlin, Germany. (Wormserstr. 12, W.) 1887.
- Prof. ARCHIBALD H. SAYCE, University of Oxford, England. 1893.
- EMILE SENART, Membre de l'Institut de France, 18 Rue François I^{er}, Paris, France. 1908.
- Prof. C. SNOUCK HURGRONJE, University of Leiden, Netherlands. (Witte Singel 84a.) 1914.
- FRANÇOIS THUREAU-DANGIN, Musée du Louvre, Paris, France. 1918.

[Total: 24]

CORPORATE MEMBERS

Names marked with * are those of life members.

- Rev. Dr. JUSTIN EDWARDS ABBOTT, 120 Hobart Ave., Summit, N. J. 1900.
 Mrs. JUSTIN E. ABBOTT, 120 Hobart Ave., Summit, N. J. 1912.
 Dr. CYRUS ADLER, 2041 North Broad St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1884.
 Dr. WILLIAM FOXWELL ALBRIGHT, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1915.
 Miss BEATRICE ALLARD, Summit Road, Wellesley, Mass. 1919.
 Dr. THOMAS GEORGE ALLEN, 5743 Maryland Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1917.
 Dr. OSWALD T. ALLIS, 26 Alexander Hall, Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J. 1916.
 FRANCIS C. ANSCOMBE, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1918.
 SHIGERU ARAKI, 102 West 123d St., New York, N. Y. 1915.
 Prof. J. C. ARCHER, 571 Orange St., New Haven, Conn. 1916.
 Prof. KANICHI ASAKAWA, Yale University Library, New Haven, Conn. 1904.
 CHARLES CHANEY BAKER, Care W. T. Tarpey, Agent Pierce Navigation Co., Texas City, Texas. 1916.
 Hon. SIMEON E. BALDWIN, LL.D., 44 Wall St., New Haven, Conn. 1898.
 *Dr. HUBERT BANNING, 17 East 128th St., New York, N. Y. 1915.
 LEMONT BARBOUR, Care Mrs. Geo. H. Moore, 7 West 92d St., New York, N. Y. 1917.
 Prof. LEROY CARR BARRET, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. 1903.
 Prof. GEORGE A. BARTON, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1888.
 Mrs. DANIEL M. BATES, 51 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass. 1912.
 Prof. L. W. BATTEN (General Theol. Seminary), 413 West 20th St., New York, N. Y. 1894.
 Prof. HARLAN P. BEACH (Yale Univ.), 346 Willow St., New Haven, Conn. 1898.
 Miss ETHEL BEERS, 3414 South Paulina St., Chicago, Ill. 1915.
 *Dr. SHRIPAD K. BELVALKAR, Deccan College, Poona, via Bombay, India. 1914.
 Miss EFFIE BENDANN, 420 West 121st St., New York, N. Y. 1915.
 Prof. HAROLD H. BENDER, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1906.
 E. BEN YEHUDA, 473 Central Park West, New York, N. Y. 1916.
 Prof. C. THEODORE BENZE, D.D. (Mt. Airy Theol. Seminary), 7304 Boyer St., Mt. Airy, Pa. 1916.
 PIERRE A. BERNARD, 662 West End Ave., New York, N. Y. 1914.
 Prof. GEORGE R. BERRY, Colgate University, Hamilton, N. Y. 1907.
 Prof. JULIUS A. BEWER, Union Theological Seminary, Broadway and 120th St., New York, N. Y. 1907.
 Dr. WILLIAM STURGIS BIGELOW, 60 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 1894.
 Prof. FREDERICK L. BIRD, 606 Beall Ave., Wooster, Ohio. 1917.
 CARL W. BISHOP, University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia, Pa. 1917.
 Dr. FRANK RINGGOLD BLAKE (Johns Hopkins Univ.), 109 W. Monument St., Baltimore, Md. 1900.
 Dr. FREDERICK J. BLISS, Syrian Protestant College, Beirut, Syria. 1898.

- Prof. CARL AUGUST BLOMGREN (Augustana College and Theol. Seminary), 825 35th St., Rock Island, Ill. 1900.
- Prof. LEONARD BLOOMFIELD, 804 W. Oregon St., Urbana, Ill. 1917.
- Prof. MAURICE BLOOMFIELD, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1881.
- PAUL F. BLOOMHARDT, Lutherville, Md. 1916.
- Dr. ALFRED BOISSIER, Le Rivage près Chambésy, Switzerland. 1897.
- Prof. GEORGE M. BOLLING, 777 Franklin Ave., Columbus, Ohio. 1896.
- Prof. JAMES HENRY BREASTED, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1891.
- Rev. CHARLES D. BROKENSHIRE, Lock Box 56, Alma, Mich. 1917.
- MILTON BROOKS, 3 Clive Row, Calcutta, B. I. 1918.
- Rev. Dr. GEORGE WILLIAM BROWN (Transylvania College), 422 Davidson Court, Lexington, Ky. 1909.
- Dr. WILLIAM NORMAN BROWN, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1916.
- Prof. CARL DARLING BUCK, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1892.
- LUDLOW S. BULL, Litchfield, Conn. 1917.
- ALEXANDER H. BULLOCK, State Mutual Building, Worcester, Mass. 1910.
- Dr. E. W. BURLINGAME, 98 Chestnut St., Albany, N. Y. 1910.
- CHARLES DANA BURRAGE, 85 Ames Building, Boston, Mass. 1909.
- Dr. ROMAIN BUTIN, Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C. 1915.
- Prof. HOWARD CROSBY BUTLER, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1908.
- Prof. MOSES BUTTENWIESER (Hebrew Union College), 257 Loraine Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1917.
- Dr. EUGENE H. BYRNE, 240 Lake Lawn Place, Madison, Wis. 1917.
- Prof. HENRY J. CADBURY, 1075 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1914.
- Rev. JOHN CAMPBELL, Kingsbridge, New York, N. Y. 1896.
- Prof. ALBERT J. CARNOY, University of California, Berkeley, Calif. 1916.
- †Pres. FRANKLIN CARTER, LL.D., Williamstown, Mass. 1873.
- †Dr. PAUL CARUS, Care of Open Court, La Salle, Ill. 1897.
- Dr. I. M. CASANOWICZ, U. S. National Museum, Washington, D. C. 1893.
- Rev. JOHN S. CHANDLER, Sunnyside, Rayapettah, Madras, Southern India. 1899.
- Dr. F. D. CHESTER, The Bristol, Boston, Mass. 1891.
- Dr. EDWARD CHIERA (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 3437 Woodland Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 1915.
- Prof. WALTER E. CLARK, 24 North Hall, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1906.
- Prof. ALBERT T. CLAY (Yale Univ.), 401 Humphrey St., New Haven, Conn. 1907.
- Prof. CAMDEN M. COBERN, Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa. 1918.
- *ALEXANDER SMITH COCHRAN, 820 5th Ave., New York, N. Y. 1908.
- Rabbi SAMUEL S. COHEN, 4100 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Ill. 1917.
- *GEORGE WETMORE COLLES, 62 Fort Greene Place, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1882.
- Prof. HERMANN COLLITZ (Johns Hopkins University), 1027 Calvert St., Baltimore, Md. 1887.

- Prof. C. EVERETT CONANT, Univ. of Chattanooga, Chattanooga, Tenn. 1905.
- Dr. ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass. 1917.
- EDWIN SANFORD CRANDON, Transcript Office, Boston, Mass. 1917.
- Rev. WILLIAM MERRIAM CRANE, Richmond, Mass. 1902.
- Prof. GEORGE DAHL, 51 Avon St., New Haven, Conn. 1918.
- Prof. JOHN D. DAVIS, Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J. 1888.
- Prof. IRWIN H. DE LONG, Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church, Lancaster, Pa. 1916.
- Prof. ALFRED L. P. DENNIS, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. 1900.
- Mrs. FRANCIS W. DICKINS, 2015 Columbia Road, Washington, D. C. 1911.
- Dr. VICCAJI DINSHAW, Mahabubnagar, Haidarabad, India. 1915.
- Rev. D. STUART DODGE, 99 John St., New York, N. Y. 1867.
- LOUIS A. DOLE, Urbana, Ohio. 1916.
- LEON DOMINIAN, 511 West 152d St., New York, N. Y. 1916.
- Rev. A. T. DORF, 1635 N. Washtenaw Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1916.
- Prof. RAYMOND P. DOUGHERTY, Goucher College, Baltimore, Md. 1918.
- Rev. WALTER DRUM, S.J., Woodstock College, Woodstock, Md. 1915.
- Rev. WM. HASKELL DU BOSE, University of the South, Sewanee, Tenn. 1912.
- Prof. F. C. DUNCALF, University of Texas, Austin, Texas. 1919.
- Dr. GEORGE S. DUNCAN, 2900 7th St., N. E., Washington, D. C. 1917.
- Prof. FRANKLIN EDGERTON, 107 Bryn Mawr Ave., Lansdowne, Pa. 1910.
- WILLIAM F. EDGERTON, Danby Road, Ithaca, N. Y. 1917.
- Mrs. ARTHUR C. EDWARDS, 309 West 91st St., New York, N. Y. 1915.
- GRANVILLE D. EDWARDS, 811 College Ave., Columbia, Mo. 1917.
- Dr. ISRAEL I. EFROS, 146 North Broadway, Baltimore, Md. 1918.
- Prof. FREDERICK G. C. EISELEN, Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill. 1901.
- ALBERT W. ELLIS, 40 Central St., Boston, Mass. 1917.
- WILLIAM T. ELLIS, Swarthmore, Pa. 1912.
- Dr. AARON EMBER, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1902.
- Prof. HENRY LANE ENO, Princeton Univ., Princeton, N. J. 1916.
- Rabbi HARRY W. ETTELSON, Ph.D., 260 Sisson Ave., Hartford, Conn. 1918.
- Prof. C. P. FAGNANI (Union Theol. Seminary), 606 W. 122d St., New York, N. Y. 1901.
- Prof. EDWIN WHITFIELD FAY (Univ. of Texas), 200 West 24th St., Austin, Texas. 1888.
- Dr. JOHN F. FENLON, Catholic Univ. of America, Washington, D. C. 1915.
- Dr. JOHN C. FERGUSON, Peking, China. 1900.
- Dr. HENRY C. FINKEL, District National Bank Building, Washington, D. C. 1912.
- CLARENCE S. FISHER, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1914.
- Rev. Dr. HUGHELL E. W. FOSBROKE, General Theological Seminary, Chelsea Square, New York, N. Y. 1917.

- Prof. JAS. EVERETT FRAME (Union Theol. Seminary), Broadway and 120th St., New York, N. Y. 1892.
- Rabbi SOLOMON B. FREEHOF, 3426 Burnet Ave., Cincinnati, O. 1918.
- Prof. JOHN FRYER, 2620 Durant Ave., Berkeley, Cal. 1917.
- Prof. LESLIE ELMER FULLER, Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill. 1916.
- Prof. KEMPER FULLERTON, Oberlin Theological Seminary, Oberlin, Ohio. 1916.
- Dr. GIUSEPPE FURLANI, S. Lorenzo di Monà, Carmono, Venezia Giulia, Italy. 1919.
- Dr. WM. HENRY FURNESS, 3d, 1906 Sansom St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1913.
- Miss MAUDE H. GAECKLER, Baylor College, Belton, Texas. 1915.
- Dr. CARL GAENSSE, 3117 Cedar St., Milwaukee, Wis. 1917.
- ALEXANDER B. GALT, 2219 California St., Washington, D. C. 1917.
- Mrs. WILLIAM TUDOR GARDINER, 29 Brimmer St., Boston, Mass. 1915.
- ROBERT GARRETT, Continental Building, Baltimore, Md. 1903.
- Rev. FRANK GAVIN, Nashotah House, Nashotah, Wis. 1917.
- Dr. HENRY SNYDER GEHMAN, 5720 North 6th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1916.
- EUGENE A. GELLOT, 290 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1911.
- Rev. F. GEORGE LIN, S.M., S.T.L., Marist College, Brookland, D. C. 1916.
- Miss ALICE GETTY, 75 ave. des Champs Elysées, Paris, France. 1915.
- Prof. BASIL LANNEAU GILDERSLEEVE (Johns Hopkins University), 1002 N. Calvert St., Baltimore, Md. 1858.
- Miss ALICE GILPIN, S. E. Corner 15th & Locust Sts., Philadelphia, Pa. 1919.
- Prof. ALEXANDER R. GORDON, Presbyterian College, Montreal, Canada. 1912.
- Prof. RICHARD J. H. GOTTHEIL, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1886.
- KINGDON GOULD, 165 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1914.
- Prof. ELIHU GRANT, Haverford College, Haverford, Pa. 1907.
- Dr. LOUIS H. GRAY, 108 West 78th St., New York, N. Y. 1897.
- Mrs. LOUIS H. GRAY, 108 West 78th St., New York, N. Y. 1907.
- Prof. ROBERT F. GRIBBLE, Mercedes, Texas. 1918.
- Miss ETTALENE M. GRICE, Care of Babylonian Collection, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1915.
- Miss LUCIA C. G. GRIEVE, 50 Heck Ave., Ocean Grove, N. J. 1894.
- Prof. LOUIS GROSSMANN (Hebrew Union College), 2212 Park Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1890.
- *Dr. GEORGE C. O. HAAS, 312 Manhattan Ave., New York, N. Y. 1903.
- Rev. K. K. HADDAWAY, 2504 Garrison Ave., Baltimore, Md. 1918.
- Miss LUISE HAESSLER, 100 Morningside Drive, New York, N. Y. 1909.
- Dr. B. HALPER, 1903 North 33d St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1919.
- Mrs. IDA M. HANCHETT, Care of Omaha Public Library, Omaha, Nebr. 1912.
- Prof. MAX HANDMAN, University of Texas, Austin, Texas. 1919.
- Prof. PAUL HAUPT (Johns Hopkins Univ.), 215 Longwood Road, Roland Park, Baltimore, Md. 1883.
- EDWARD A. HENRY, Box 217, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1917.

- PHILIP S. HENRY, 1402 Massachusetts Ave., Washington, D. C. 1914.
 Prof. HERMANN V. HILPRECHT, Leopoldstr. 8, München, Germany. 1887.
 Prof. WILLIAM J. HINKE (Auburn Theol. Seminary), 156 North St.,
 Auburn, N. Y. 1907.
 Prof. EMIL G. HIRSCH, 3612 Grand Boulevard, Chicago, Ill. 1917.
 Prof. FRIEDRICH HIRTH (Columbia Univ.), 401 West 118th St., New York,
 N. Y. 1903.
 Dr. PHILIP K. HITT (Columbia University), 2929 Broadway, New York,
 N. Y. 1915.
 Rev. LEWIS HODOUS, 9 Sumner St., Hartford, Conn. 1919.
 *Prof. E. WASHBURN HOPKINS (Yale Univ.), 299 Lawrence St., New
 Haven, Conn. 1881.
 Dr. STANLEY K. HORNBECK, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis. 1917.
 Prof. JACOB HOSCHANDER, 3220 Monument Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 1914.
 HENRY R. HOWLAND, Natural Science Building, Buffalo, N. Y. 1907.
 Dr. EDWARD H. HUME, Changsha, Hunan, China. 1909.
 Prof. ROBERT ERNEST HUME (Union Theol. Seminary), 606 W. 122d St.,
 New York, N. Y. 1914.
 *Dr. ARCHER M. HUNTINGTON, 15 West 81st St., New York, N. Y. 1912.
 SOLOMON T. H. HURWITZ, 217 East 69th St., New York, N. Y. 1912.
 Prof. ISAAC HUSIK, 408 S. 9th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1916.
 Prof. MARY INDA HUSSEY, Mt. Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass.
 1901.
 *JAMES HAZEN HYDE, 18 rue Adolphe Yvon, Paris, France. 1909.
 Prof. HENRY HYVERNAT (Catholic Univ. of America), 3405 12th St., N. E.
 (Brookland), Washington, D. C. 1889.
 Prof. A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.
 1885.
 Mrs. A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON, Care of Columbia University, New York,
 N. Y. 1912.
 Rev. ERNEST P. JANVIER, Pennsylvania Institute for the Blind, Overbrook,
 Philadelphia, Pa. 1919.
 Prof. MORRIS JASTROW, JR. (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 248 South 23d St.,
 Philadelphia, Pa. 1886.
 Rev. HENRY F. JENKS, Canton Corner, Mass. 1874.
 Prof. JAMES RICHARD JEWETT, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
 1887.
 FRANK EDWARD JOHNSON, 3038 N St., N. W., Washington, D. C. 1916.
 R. F. JOHNSTON, Chang Wang Hutung, The Old Drum Tower Road, Peking,
 China. 1919.
 FLORIN HOWARD JONES, Box 95, Coytesville, N. J. 1918.
 Rabbi JACOB H. KAPLAN, 780 E. Ridgeway Ave., Cincinnati, O. 1918.
 Rev. Dr. C. E. KEISER, Lyon Station, Pa. 1913.
 Prof. MAXIMILIAN L. KELLNER, Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge,
 Mass. 1886.
 Dr. FREDERICK T. KELLY, 2019 Monroe St., Madison, Wis. 1917.
 Pres. JAMES A. KELSO, Western Theological Seminary, Pittsburgh, Pa.
 1915.

- Prof. ELIZA H. KENDRICK, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. 1896.
- Prof. CHARLES FOSTER KENT (Yale Univ.), 415 Humphrey St., New Haven, Conn. 1890.
- Prof. ROLAND G. KENT, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1910.
- LEEDS C. KERR, 5238 Westminister Place, Pittsburgh, Pa. 1916.
- Prof. GEORGE L. KITTREDGE (Harvard Univ.), 9 Hilliard St., Cambridge, Mass. 1899.
- Dr. K. KOHLER (Hebrew Union College), 3016 Stanton Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1917.
- Rev. GEORGES S. KUKHI, Care Prof. Ibrahim Zaky, Darb Mustafa, Haret-el-Hariry, 2, Cairo, Egypt. 1917.
- Rev. Dr. M. G. KYLE, 1132 Arrott St., Frankford, Philadelphia, Pa. 1909.
- Mrs. FLETCHER LADD, Manchester, N. H. 1919.
- Prof. GOTTHARD LANDSTROM, Box 12, Zap, Mercer Co., N. Dak. 1917.
- *Prof. CHARLES ROCKWELL LANMAN (Harvard Univ.), 9 Farrar St., Cambridge, Mass. 1876.
- Prof. KENNETH S. LATOURETTE, Reed College, Portland, Ore. 1917.
- Dr. BERTHOLD LAUFER, Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, Ill. 1900.
- Rabbi JACOB Z. LAUTERBACH, Ph.D., Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1918.
- Rabbi MORRIS S. LAZARON, 1712 Linden Ave., Baltimore, Md. 1917.
- T. Y. LEO, Chinese Consulate, 18 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1916.
- Rabbi GERSON B. LEVI, 5000 Grand Boulevard, Chicago, Ill. 1917.
- Dr. FELIX A. LEVY, 707 Melrose St., Chicago, Ill. 1917.
- Rev. H. LINFIELD, Dropsie College, Philadelphia, Pa. 1912.
- Prof. ENNO LITTMAN, Hainholzweg 44, Göttingen, Germany. 1912.
- Prof. LINDSAY B. LONGACRE, 2142 South Milwaukee St., Denver, Colo. 1918.
- Dr. STEPHEN B. LUCE, University of Pa. Museum, Philadelphia, Pa. 1916.
- Prof. DANIEL D. LUCKENBILL, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1912.
- Dr. HENRY F. LUTZ, 4148 Pennsgrove St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1916.
- Prof. ALBERT HOWE LYBYER (Univ. of Illinois), 1009 W. California St., Urbana, Ill. 1917.
- *BENJAMIN SMITH LYMAN, 269 South 4th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1871.
- Prof. DAVID GORDON LYON, Harvard University Semitic Museum, Cambridge, Mass. 1882.
- ALBERT MORTON LYTGOE, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y. 1899.
- Prof. J. F. MCCURDY, Madison, N. J. 1915.
- Prof. DUNCAN B. MACDONALD, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1893.
- Dr. D. I. MACHT, Dep't of Pharmacology, Johns Hopkins University, Monument and Washington Sts., Baltimore, Md. 1918.
- Prof. HERBERT W. MACOUN, 70 Kirkland St., Cambridge, Mass. 1887.
- WALTER A. MAIER, 70 Toptiff St., Dorchester, Mass. 1917.
- Rabbi LOUIS L. MANN, 575 Orange St., New Haven, Conn. 1917.

- Prof. MAX L. MARGOLIS (Dropsie College), 152 W. Hortter St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1890.
- Prof. ALLAN MARQUAND, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1888.
- Dr. JAMES P. MARSH, 1828 Fifth Ave., Troy, N. Y. 1919.
- JOHN MARTIN, North Adams, Mass. 1917.
- Rev. Dr. JOHN A. MAYNARD, 175 9th Ave., New York, N. Y. 1917.
- Prof. THEOPHILE J. MEEK (Meadville Theological Seminary), 502 Chestnut St., Meadville, Pa. 1917.
- Prof. SAMUEL A. B. MERCER (Western Theol. Seminary), 2738 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Ill. 1912.
- Rev. FREDERIC C. MEREDITH, 32 Kita-kuruwa Cho, Maebashi, Jochu, Japan. 1914.
- R. D. MESSAYEH, 49 East 127th St., New York, N. Y. 1919.
- Mrs. EUGENE MEYER, Seven Springs Farm, Mt. Kisco, N. Y. 1916.
- MARTIN A. MEYER, 3108 Jackson St., San Francisco, Cal. 1906.
- Dr. TRUMAN MICHELSON, Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, D. C. 1899.
- Mrs. HELEN LOVELL MILLION, Hardin College, Mexico, Mo. 1892.
- GEORGE TYLER MOLYNEUX, 1401 East 60th St., Chicago, Ill. 1919.
- Prof. J. A. MONTGOMERY (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 6806 Greene St., Germantown, Philadelphia, Pa. 1903.
- *Mrs. MARY H. MOORE, 3 Divinity Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1902.
- Dr. RILEY D. MOORE, Div. of Physical Anthropology, U. S. National Museum, Washington, D. C. 1916.
- Prof. JULIAN MORGENSTERN (Hebrew Union College), 764 Greenwood Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1915.
- Prof. EDWARD S. MORSE, Salem, Mass. 1894.
- Rev. HANS K. MOUSSA, Jefferson, Wis. 1906.
- Mrs. ALBERT H. MUNSELL, 65 Middlesex Road, Chestnut Hill, Mass. 1908.
- Dr. WILLIAM MUSS-ARNOLT, Public Library, Boston, Mass. 1887.
- Rev. Dr. WILLIAM M. NESBIT, 477 Main St., Orange, N. J. 1916.
- Prof. W. R. NEWBOLD, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1918.
- EDWARD THEODORE NEWELL, American Numismatic Society, 156th St. and Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1914.
- Rev. Dr. JAMES B. NIES, Hotel St. George, 51 Clark St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1906.
- Ven. Archdeacon WILLIAM E. NIES, Union Bank, Geneva, Switzerland. 1908.
- Mrs. CHARLES F. NORTON, Transylvania College, Lexington, Ky. 1919.
- Miss RUTH NORTON, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1918.
- Dr. WILLIAM FREDERICK NOTZ, 1727 Lamont St., Washington, D. C. 1915.
- Rt. Rev. Mgr. DENNIS J. O'CONNELL, 800 Cathedral Place, Richmond, Va. 1903.
- Dr. FELIX, Freiherr von OEFELE, 326 E. 58th St., New York, N. Y. 1913.
- Prof. HANNS OERTEL, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1890.
- Dr. CHARLES J. OGDEN, 628 West 114th St., New York, N. Y. 1906.
- Miss ELLEN S. OGDEN, Hopkins Hall, Burlington, Vt. 1898.

- Prof. SAMUEL G. OLIPHANT, Grove City College, Grove City, Pa. 1906.
Prof. ALBERT TENEYCK OLMSTEAD (Univ. of Illinois), 611 W. Oregon Ave., Urbana, Ill. 1909.
Prof. PAUL OLTRAMARE (Univ. of Geneva), Ave. de Bosquets, Servette, Genève, Switzerland. 1904.
Prof. LEWIS B. PATON, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1894.
Dr. CHARLES PEABODY, 197 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass. 1892.
Prof. GEORGE A. PECKHAM, Hiram College, Hiram, Ohio. 1912.
Prof. ISMAR J. PERITZ, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y. 1894.
Prof. EDWARD DELAVAN PERRY (Columbia Univ.), 542 West 114th St., New York, N. Y. 1879.
Rev. Dr. JOHN P. PETERS, 225 West 99th St., New York, N. Y. 1882.
Prof. WALTER PETERSEN, Bethany College, Lindsborg, Kan. 1909.
Hon. WILLIAM PHILLIPS, Woodley, Woodley Lane, Washington, D. C. 1917.
T. RAMAKRISHNA PILLAI, Thottakkadu House, Madras, India. 1913.
PAUL POPENOE, 511 Eleventh St., N. W., Washington, D. C. 1914.
Prof. WILLIAM POPPER, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1897.
Prof. IRA M. PRICE, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1887.
Dr. JULIUS J. PRICE, 94 Fairview Ave., Plainfield, N. J. 1917.
Prof. JOHN DYNELEY PRINCE (Columbia Univ.), Sterlington, Rockland Co., N. Y. 1888.
CHARLES MARTYN PRYNNE, Hotel Westminster, Boston, Mass. 1919.
Rev. FRANCIS J. PURTELL, S.T.L., Overbrook Seminary, Philadelphia, Pa. 1916.
Rev. Dr. CHARLES LYNN PYATT, 801 Jackson St., Gary, Ill. 1917.
Dr. GEORGE PAYN QUACKENBOS, Colonial Heights, Tuckahoe, N. Y. 1904.
E. N. RABINOWITZ, 125 Aisquith St., Baltimore, Md. 1916.
†G. A. REICHLING, 388 Lafayette Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1912.
Dr. JOSEPH REIDER, Dropsie College, Broad and York Sts., Philadelphia, Pa. 1913.
JOHN REILLY, JR., American Numismatic Society, 156th St. and Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1918.
Prof. GEORGE ANDREW REISNER, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass. 1891.
Rt. Rev. PHILIP M. RHINELANDER, Church House, 12th and Walnut Sts., Philadelphia, Pa. 1908.
ERNEST C. RICHARDSON, Library of Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1900.
Prof. GEORGE H. RICHARDSON, Trinity Rectory, Logansport, Ind. 1917.
Rev. CHARLES WELLINGTON ROBINSON, Bronxville, N. Y. 1916.
Prof. GEORGE LIVINGSTON ROBINSON (McCormick Theol. Seminary), 2312 N. Halsted St., Chicago, Ill. 1892.
Prof. JAMES HARDY ROPES (Harvard Univ.), 13 Follen St., Cambridge, Mass. 1893.
HARRY L. ROSEN, 831 South 3d St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1919.
Dr. WILLIAM ROSENAU, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1897.

- Dr. JOSEPH G. ROSENGARTEN, 1704 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1917.
 Miss ADELAIDE RUDOLPH, 420 West 119th St., New York, N. Y. 1894.
 ELBERT RUSSELL, Woolman House, Swarthmore, Pa. 1916.
 Rev. Dr. FRANK K. SANDERS, 25 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 1897.
 Mrs. A. H. SAUNDERS, 552 Riverside Drive, New York, N. Y. 1915.
 Rev. Dr. HENRY SCHAEFFER, 19 Southampton St., Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, Pa. 1916.
 Dr. ISRAEL SCHAPIRO, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C. 1914.
 Dr. JOHANN F. SCHELTEMA, Box 998, Yale Station, New Haven, Conn. 1906.
 Prof. NATHANIEL SCHMIDT, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1894.
 WILFRED H. SCHOFF, Commercial Museum, Philadelphia, Pa. 1912.
 Prof. H. SCHUMACHER, Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C. 1916.
 WILLIAM BACON SCOFIELD, Worcester Club, Worcester, Mass. 1919.
 Dr. GILBERT CAMPBELL SCOGGIN, University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo. 1906.
 Dr. CHARLES P. G. SCOTT, 49 Arthur St., Yonkers, N. Y. 1895.
 *Mrs. SAMUEL BRYAN SCOTT (*née* Morris), 124 Highland Ave., Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, Pa. 1903.
 VICTOR SEGALIN, Médecin-major, Hospital Maritime, Brest, France. 1919.
 Dr. MOSES SEIDEL, 9-11 Montgomery St., New York, N. Y. 1917.
 Rev. Dr. WILLIAM G. SEIPLE, 125 Tsuchidoi-machi, Sendai, Japan. 1902.
 O. R. SELLERS, Lexington, Mo. 1917.
 Dr. HENRY B. SHARMAN, North Truro, Mass. 1917.
 Rev. WILLIAM SHELLABEAR, 2512 Guilford Ave., Baltimore, Md. 1919.
 Prof. CHARLES N. SHEPARD (General Theol. Seminary), 9 Chelsea Square, New York, N. Y. 1907.
 CHARLES C. SHERMAN, 614 Riverside Drive, New York, N. Y. 1904.
 *JOHN R. SLATTERY, 14bis rue Montaigne, Paris, France. 1903.
 Prof. HENRY PRESERVED SMITH (Union Theol. Seminary), Broadway and 120th St., New York, N. Y. 1877.
 Prof. JOHN M. P. SMITH, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1906.
 Dr. LOUISE P. SMITH, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. 1918.
 Rev. JOSEPH E. SNYDER, Ellicott City, Md. 1916.
 Dr. DAVID B. SPOONER, Ass't. Director General of Archeology in India, "Benmore," Simla, Punjab, India. 1918.
 Prof. MARTIN SPREGLING, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1912.
 Rev. Dr. JAMES D. STEELE, 15 Grove Terrace, Passaic, N. J. 1892.
 REUBEN STEINBACH, 114 S. Chester St., Baltimore, Md. 1916.
 M. T. STERELNY, P. O. Box 7, Vladivostok, East Siberia. 1919.
 Rabbi EMMANUEL STERNHEIM, M.S.P., 1400 Douglas St., Sioux City, Iowa. 1918.
 Mrs. W. YORKE STEVENSON, 251 South 18th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1919.
 Rev. ANSON PHELPS STOKES, D.D., Woodbridge Hall, Yale Station, New Haven, Conn. 1900.
 JOSEPH STOLZ, 4827 Langley Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1917.
 Hon. MAYER SULZBERGER, 1303 Girard Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 1888.

- Prof. GEORGE SVERDRUP, JR., Augsburg Seminary, Minneapolis, Minn. 1907.
- Rev. HENRY SWIFT, Plymouth, Conn. 1914.
- WALTER T. SWINGLE, Bureau of Plant Industry, Washington, D. C. 1916.
- Rabbi SIDNEY TEDESHE, 205 Bay 29th St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1916.
- Prof. F. J. TEGGART, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1919.
- EBEN FRANCIS THOMPSON, 311 Main St., Worcester, Mass. 1906.
- Prof. HENRY A. TODD (Columbia Univ.), 824 West End Ave., New York, N. Y. 1885.
- Prof. HERBERT CUSHING TOLMAN, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. 1917.
- *Prof. CHARLES C. TORREY, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1891.
- Rev. ARCHIBALD TREMAYNE, 1015 Yale St., New Haven, Conn. 1918.
- TSEH LING TSU, 1201 W. Clark St., Urbana, Ill. 1918.
- Rev. SYDNEY N. USSHER, New York, N. Y. 1909.
- Rev. Dr. FREDERICK AUGUSTUS VANDERBURGH (Columbia Univ.), 55 Washington Sq., New York, N. Y. 1908.
- ADDISON VAN NAME (Yale Univ.), 121 High St., New Haven, Conn. 1863.
- Dr. ARTHUR A. VASCHALDE, Catholic Univ. of America, Washington, D. C. 1915.
- Miss CORNELIA WARREN, Cedar Hill, Waltham, Mass. 1894.
- Prof. WILLIAM F. WARREN (Boston Univ.), 131 Davis Ave., Brookline, Mass. 1877.
- Rev. SAMUEL W. WASS, 385 Hillsdale Ave., Toronto, Canada. 1917.
- Prof. LEROY WATERMAN, Univ. of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1912.
- Prof. J. E. WERREN, 1667 Cambridge St., Cambridge, Mass. 1894.
- ARTHUR J. WESTERMAYR, 12-16 John St., New York, N. Y. 1912.
- Pres. BENJAMIN IDE WHEELER, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1885.
- JOHN G. WHITE, Williamson Building, Cleveland, Ohio. 1912.
- *Miss MARGARET DWIGHT WHITNEY, 227 Church St., New Haven, Conn. 1908.
- HERBERT L. WILLETT, 6119 Woodlawn Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1917.
- Mrs. CAROLINE RANSOM WILLIAMS, The Chesbrough Dwellings, Toledo, Ohio. 1912.
- Hon. E. T. WILLIAMS, 2112 Los Angeles Ave., Berkeley, Cal. 1901.
- Prof. FREDERICK WELLS WILLIAMS (Yale Univ.), 155 Whitney Ave., New Haven, Conn. 1895.
- Mrs. F. W. WILLIAMS, 155 Whitney Ave., New Haven, Conn. 1918.
- Prof. TALCOTT WILLIAMS, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1884.
- HERBERT E. WINLOCK, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y. 1919.
- Rev. Dr. WILLIAM COPLEY WINSLOW, 525 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 1885.
- Rev. Dr. STEPHEN S. WISE, 23 West 90th St., New York, N. Y. 1894.
- Prof. JOHN E. WISHART, Xenia, Ohio. 1911.
- HENRY B. WITTON, 290 Hess St., South, Hamilton, Ontario. 1885.
- Dr. LOUIS B. WOLFENSON, 1113 W. Dayton St., Madison, Wis. 1904.
- Dr. HENRY A. WOLFSON, 5 Conant Hall, Cambridge, Mass. 1917.

- HOWLAND WOOD, Curator, American Numismatic Society, Broadway & 156th St., New York, N. Y. 1919.
 Prof. IRVING F. WOOD, Smith College, Northampton, Mass. 1905.
 Prof. WILLIAM H. WOOD, 23 North Main St., Hanover, N. H. 1917.
 Prof. JAMES H. WOODS (Harvard Univ.), 179 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass. 1900.
 Miss MARGUERITE WOODWARD, U. S. National Museum, Washington, D. C. 1917.
 Prof. WILLIAM H. WORRELL (Hartford Seminary Foundation), 133 Whitney St., Hartford, Conn. 1910.
 Prof. JESSE ERWIN WRENCH (Univ. of Missouri), 1104 Hudson Ave., Columbia, Mo. 1917.
 Rev. Dr. ROYDEN K. YERKES (Philadelphia Divinity School), Box 247, Merion, Pa. 1916.
 Dr. S. C. YLVISAKER, Luther College, Decorah, Ia. 1913.
 Rev. Dr. ABRAHAM YOHANNAN, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1894.
 Rev. ROBERT ZIMMERMAN, S. J., St. Xavier's College, Cruickshank Road, Bombay, India. 1911. [Total: 366]
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 BLOOMINGTON, IND.: Indiana University Library.
 BOSTON, MASS.: Public Library.
 American Academy of Arts and Sciences.
 Boston Athenaeum.
 BROOKLYN, N. Y.: Theosophical Society.
 CAMBRIDGE, MASS. Harvard University Library.
 CHICAGO, ILL.: University of Chicago Library.
 Newberry Library.
 Field Museum of Natural History.
 Hibbard Egyptian Library.
 CINCINNATI, O.: Journal of Jewish Lore and Philosophy.
 Library, Hebrew Union College.
 CLEVELAND, O.: Public Library.

- CONCORD, N. H.: New Hampshire State Library.
ITHACA, N. Y.: Cornell University Library.
LINCOLN, NEB.: University of Nebraska Library.
MEADVILLE, PA.: Meadville Theological Seminary Library.
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NEW BRUNSWICK, N. J.: Sage Library.
NEW HAVEN, CONN.: Yale University Library.
NEW YORK, N. Y.: Public Library.
Columbia University Library.
Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching.
PHILADELPHIA, PA.: University of Pennsylvania Library.
Free Museum of Science and Art, University of
Pennsylvania.
American Philosophical Society.
Library of the Philadelphia Divinity School.
PROVIDENCE, R. I.: Brown University Library.
ROCHESTER, N. Y.: Rochester Theological Seminary.
ST. LOUIS, MO.: Public Library.
WASHINGTON, D. C.: Library of Congress.
Archaeological Institute of America.
WORCESTER, MASS.: American Antiquarian Society.

CANADA

- WINNIPEG, MANITOBA: University of Manitoba Library.

EUROPE

- AUSTRIA, VIENNA: Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften.
K. u. K. Direction der K. u. K. Hofbibliothek.
(Josephsplatz 1.)
Anthropologische Gesellschaft.
Geographische Gesellschaft.
PRAGUE: Königlich Böhmisches Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.
DENMARK, ICELAND, REYKJAVIK: University Library.
FRANCE, PARIS: Société Asiatique. (Rue de Seine, Palais de l'Institut.)
Bibliothèque Nationale.
Musée Guimet. (Avenue du Trocadéro.)
Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.
École des Langues Orientales Vivantes. (Rue de Lille, 2.)
École Française d'extrême Orient. (28, rue Bonaparte.)
Ministère de l'Instruction Publique.
GERMANY, BERLIN: Königlich Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
Königliche Bibliothek.
Seminar für Orientalische-Sprachen. (Am Zeughause 1.)
DARMSTADT: Grossherzogliche Hofbibliothek.
GÖTTINGEN: Königliche Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.

- GERMANY, HALLE:** Bibliothek der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. (Friedrichstrasse 50.)
Naturwissenschaftlicher Verein für Sachsen und Thüringen.
- KIEL:** Universitäts-Bibliothek.
- LEIPZIG:** Königlich Sächsische Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.
- MUNICH:** Königlich Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
Königliche Hof- und Staatsbibliothek.
- TÜBINGEN:** Library of the University.
- GREAT BRITAIN, LONDON:** Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. (22 Albemarle St., W.)
Library of the India Office. (Whitehall, S. W.)
Society of Biblical Archaeology. (37 Great Russell St., Bloomsbury, W. C.)
Philological Society. (Care of Dr. F. J. Furnivall, 3 St. George's Square, Primrose Hill, N. W.)
E. J. W. Gibb Memorial. (46 Great Russell St.)
Palestine Exploration Fund. (2 Hinde St., Manchester Square.)
- OXFORD:** Bodleian Library.
- ITALY, BOLOGNA:** Reale Accademia delle Scienze dell' Istituto di Bologna.
- FLORENCE:** Società Asiatica Italiana.
- PAVIA:** Faculta di Filosofia e Lettere d. R. Università.
- ROME:** Reale Accademia dei Lincei.
Istituto Biblico Pontificio.
- NETHERLANDS, AMSTERDAM:** Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen.
Vereeniging "Koloniaal Instituut."
- LEYDEN:** Curatorium of the University.
- S'GRAVENHAGE:** Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde van Nederlands Indië.
- RUSSIA, FINLAND, HELSINGFORS:** Société Finno-Ougrienne.
- PETROGRAD:** Imperatorskaja Akademija Nauk.
Archeologiji Institut.
- SWEDEN, UPSALA:** Humanistiska Vetenskaps-Samfundet.

ASIA, AUSTRALASIA, PACIFIC ISLANDS

- CHINA, SHANGHAI:** China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
- TONKIN:** École Française d'extrême Orient (Rue de Coton), Hanoi.
- INDIA, ADYAR:** Adyar Library.
- ALIGARH:** Lytton Library, M. A. O. College.
- ALLAHABAD:** Allahabad Public Library.
- BOMBAY:** Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
The Anthropological Society. (Town Hall.)
University Library.
- BENARES:** Benares Sanskrit College, "The Pandit."

- INDIA, CALCUTTA: The Asiatic Society of Bengal. (57 Park St.)
The Buddhist Text Society. (86 Jaun Bazar St.)
Sanskrit College.
University Library.
Imperial Library.
Presidency College.
- DELHI: Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Education.
- LAHORE: Library, University of the Punjab.
- MADRAS: Oriental Manuscripts Library.
Connemara Public Library.
Presidency College.
- MYSORE: University Library.
- SIMLA: Office of the Director General of Archaeology. (Benmore, Simla, Punjab.)
Secretary to the Government of India, Department of Education, Simla.
- SIAM, BANGKOK: Siam Society.
Vajirañāna National Library.
- CEYLON, COLOMBO: Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
- JAPAN, KYOTO: Library, Shinshu Otani Daigaku, Kuramaguci, Muramochigashira.
- TAIKOHU: Library of Taiwan Government.
- TOKYO: The Asiatic Society of Japan.
Institute of History, College of Literature.
Dr. G. E. Morrison's Library, Mitsubishi Bldg., 26, Marunouchi.
- YAMAGUCHI: The Yamaguchi Higher Commercial School.
- JAVA, BATAVIA: Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.
- KOREA, SEOUL: Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
- NEW ZEALAND, NEW PLYMOUTH: The Polynesian Society.
- PHILIPPINE ISLANDS, MANILA: The Ethnological Survey.
Philippine Library.
- STRAITS SETTLEMENTS, SINGAPORE: Nanyo-Kyokai (Japanese Commercial Museum).
- SYRIA, JERUSALEM: The American School. (Care U. S. Consul.)
- SIBERIA, VLADIVOSTOK: Oriental Institute.
- HAWAII, HONOLULU: Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum.

AFRICA

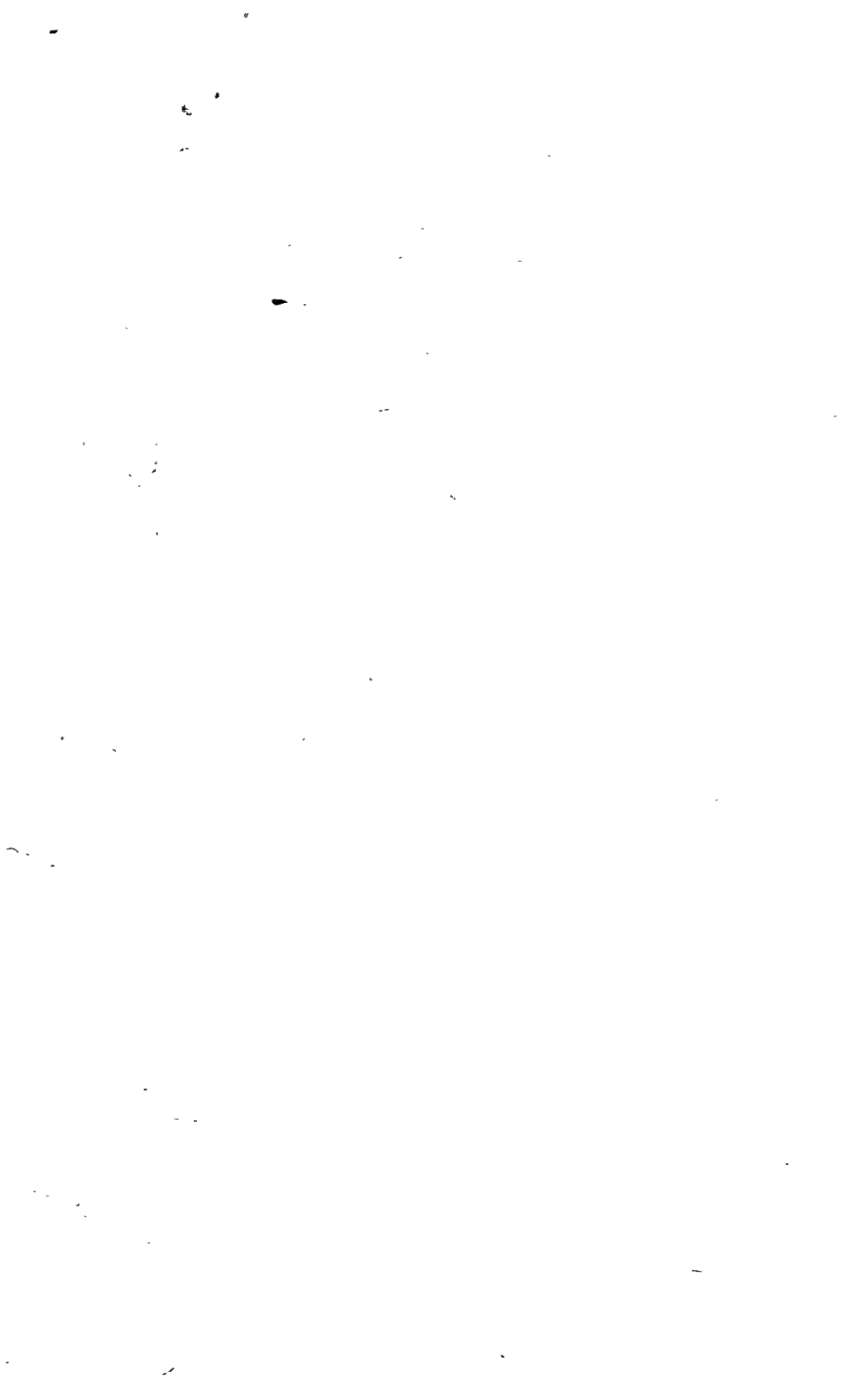
- EGYPT, CAIRO: The Khedivial Library.

JOURNALS AND OTHER PUBLICATIONS

- The Indian Antiquary (Education Society's Press, Bombay, India).
Revue de l'Histoire des Religions (care of M. Jean Réville, chez M. E. Leroux, 28 rue Bonaparte, Paris, France).

- Archives orientales (care of Prof. J.-A. Lundell, Upsala, Sweden).
 Orientalische Bibliographie (care of Prof. Lucian Scherman, Herzogstrasse 8, Munich, Bavaria).
 Transactions of the American Philological Association (care of Prof. C. P. Bill, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, O.).
 Le Monde Oriental (care of Prof. K. F. Johansson, Upsala, Sweden).
 Panini Office, Bhuvaneshwari Asram (Allahabad), Bahadurgany (India).
 Siddhanta Dipika Office, Madras, N. C. (India).
 Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register (Colombo, Ceylon).
 Revue Biblique (90 Rue Bonaparte, Paris, France).
 Al-Machriq (Université St. Joseph, Beirut, Syria).
 Revue de l'Orient Chrétien (care of Prof. Nau, Rue Littré 10, Paris, France).
 Leipziger Semitistische Studien (J. C. Hinrichs, Leipzig, Germany).
 Indian Text Series (care of J. Murray, Albemarle St., London, England).
 Bibliotheca Buddhica (Petrograd, Russia).
 Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft (care of Prof. Dr. Karl Marti, Marienstr. 25, Bern, Switzerland).
 Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft (J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, Leipzig, Germany).
 Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes (care of Alfred Hölder, Rothenthurmstr. 15, Vienna, Austria).
 Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung (care of Prof. E. Kuhn, 3 Hess Str., Munich, Bavaria).
 The New China Review (Samuel Couling, M.A., Editor), Shanghai, China.
 Indian Philosophy (care Maruya Co., Sanjodori, Kyoto, Japan).
 Al-Muktataf (Dr. Y. Sarruf, Editor), Cairo, Egypt.

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